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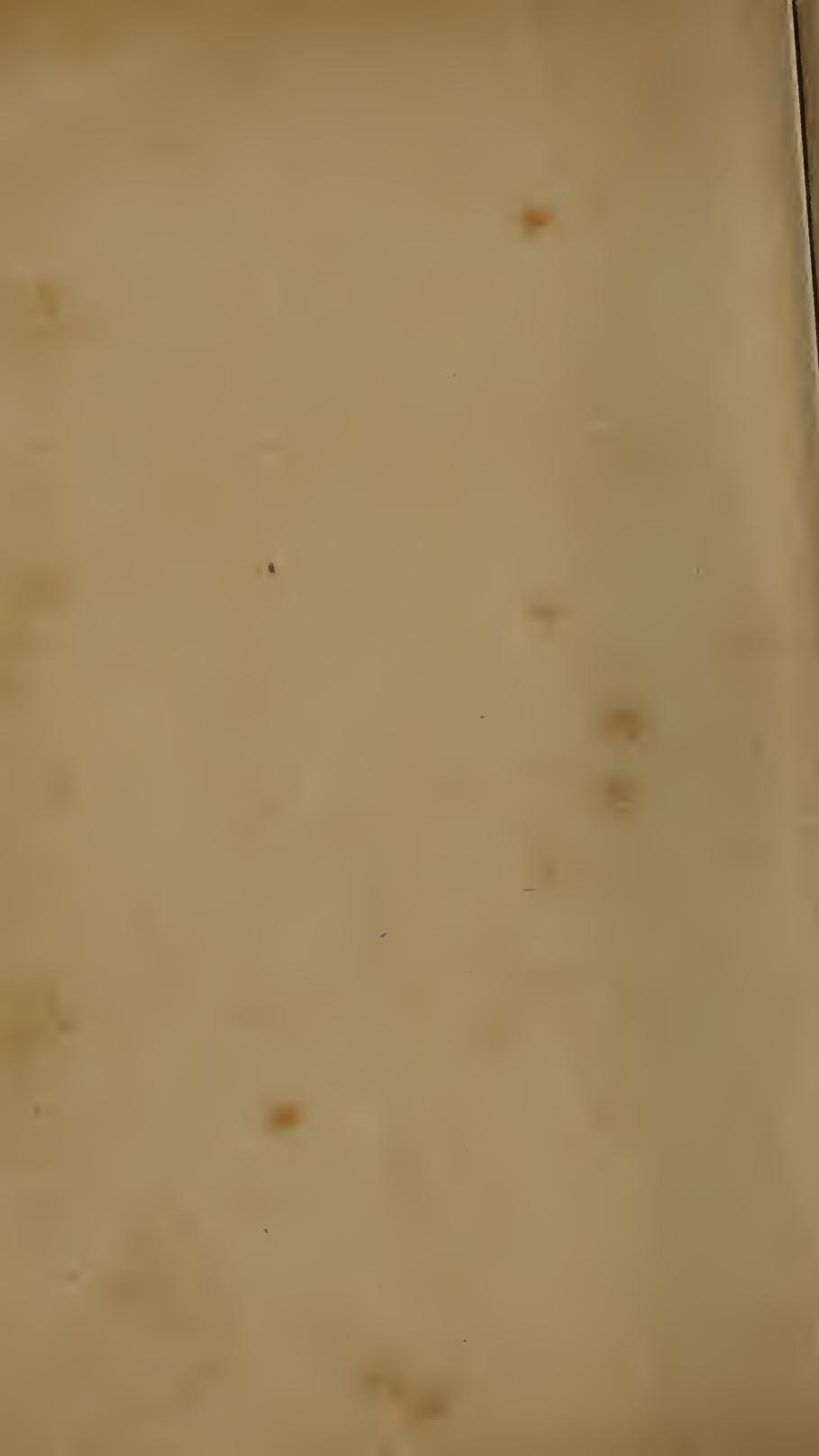
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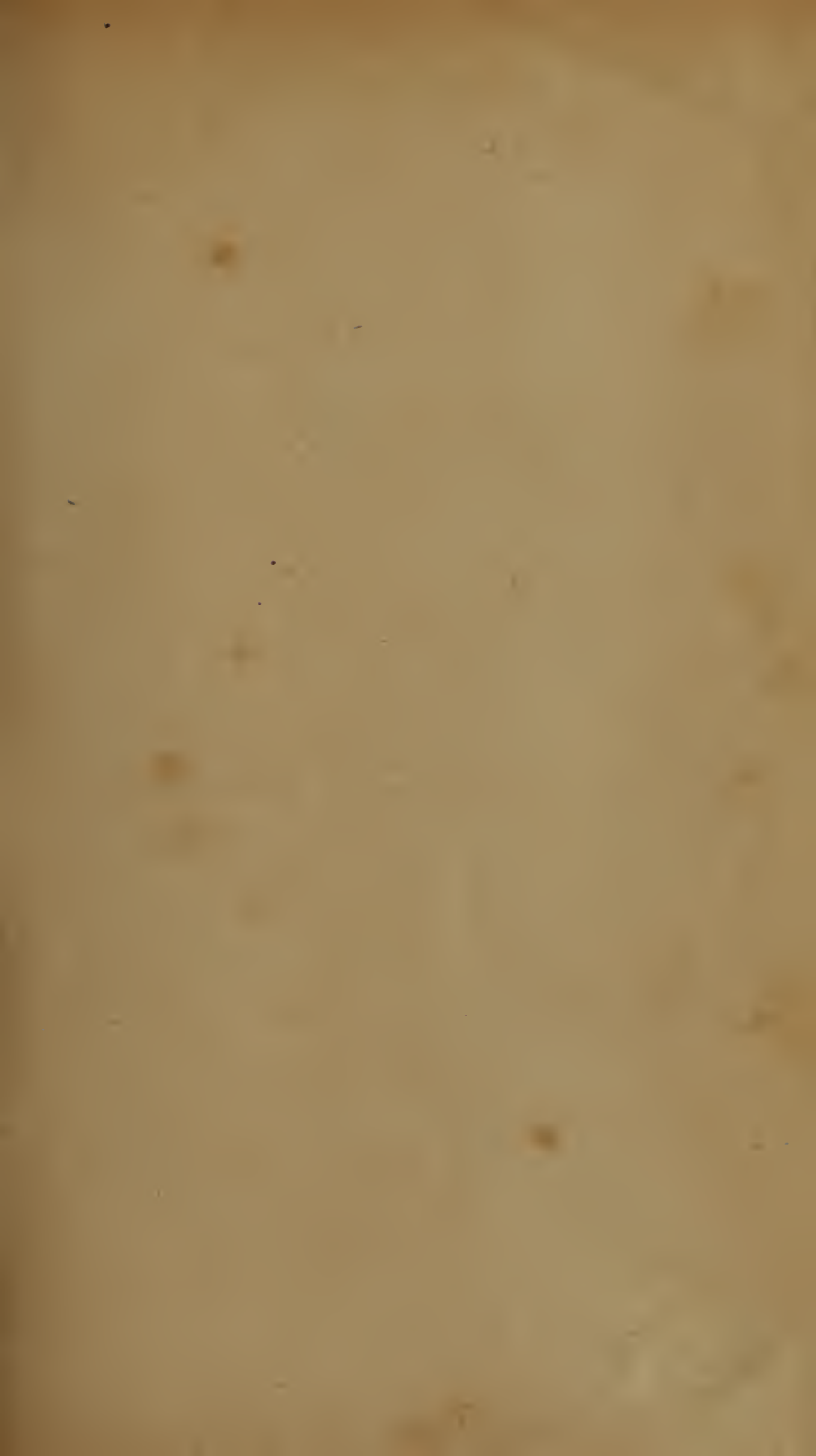
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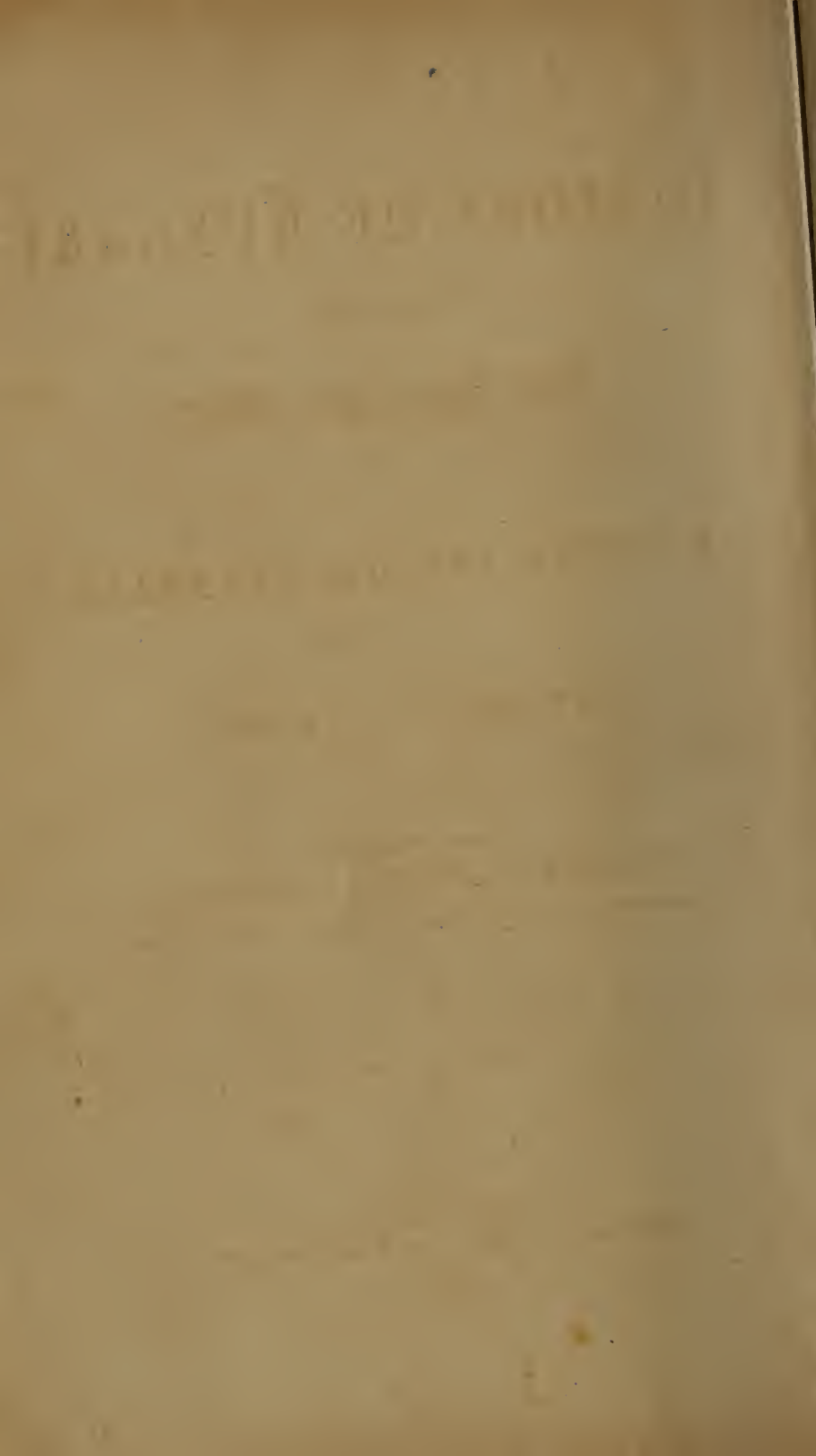












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THE

HISTORY OF HUNGARY

AND THE

Late Hungarian War,

Austria
P

KOSSUTH AND HIS GENERALS.

BY HENRY W. DE PUY.

N

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY HON. HENRY J. RAYMOND,

LATE SPEAKER OF NEW YORK ASSEMBLY, AND EDITOR OF N. Y. DAILY TIMES.

BUFFALO:
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P R E F A C E .

To furnish in a convenient and popular form, the most important and interesting facts in the Annals of Hungary, and in the eventful lives of its brave and devoted patriots and distinguished Chief, is the aim of these pages. No attempt has been made at eloquence or philosophical discussion, and it is believed, this plain narrative, will be found to possess the instructive interest of those facts which are "stranger than fiction."

Although the book is, of course, partly compiled, a large portion of it is original; and the substance of the most appropriate parts of many works and scattered documents is collected, arranged and condensed into one volume for popular reading.

Among the valuable books from which extracts have been made, are, "Hungary and Transylvania," by Paget; "Memoirs of the War of Independence in Hungary," by General Klapka, the defender of Komorn; and the "Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady," by Theresa Pulszky, wife of one of the members of Kossuth's Cabinet. Valuable information has also been derived from a work on the "Hungarian Revolution," by John Pragay, a distinguished Hungarian officer. Official and other documents, letters and accounts of travelers, and articles from the most reliable reviews, magazines and newspapers, both American and foreign, as well as the Speeches and Letters of Kossuth, and of Count Pulszky his present Secretary, have been consulted and compared. The proof-sheets have also been submitted to the inspection of Hon. Henry J. Raymond, whose sources of information on this subject, as the well known friend of Hungary and Kossuth, and

as the editor of a highly influential journal, are apparent. His opinion of the work is expressed in the able introduction, where will be found a valuable review of the whole subject.

Historic accuracy and impartiality have been a principal aim. That they have been fully attained in matters where the authorities — often themselves interested parties — vary, and where the smoke of a recent contest has not yet disappeared, will hardly be expected.

No attempt is here made to glorify the distinguished Kossuth as a *perfect* hero, nor to answer the several newspaper charges which have appeared against him. The record of history, to which this is a humble and imperfect contribution, will assign him his just place, among the defenders of human liberty. It may not be improper, however, to remind the reader, that Power, Gold, and Diplomacy have long arms, which can easily span an ocean; that the immense interests of Despotism are at stake; and that ambition, vanity, envy, partizan animosity, selfish fear and other unworthy passions, may be, as they ever have been, wielded by great existing powers, against their prominent assailants. Every friend of truth, then, will hear both sides, before allowing a noble sympathy for an oppressed nation, to be crushed by personal attacks upon its most eloquent champion.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume is intended to present, in a condensed and generally accessible form such a history of the late struggle of Hungary for independence, as will enable American readers to judge of its claims upon their respect and sympathy.

The design is a good one, and, so far as I have been able to examine the work, it seems to have been creditably and successfully executed. A clear outline is given of the early history of the Hungarian people, as well as of the more recent development of their political institutions: and the characters of their most distinguished men, are sketched with accuracy and vigor.

The visit of Governor Kossuth to this country, has awakened a deep and general interest in the history and the fortunes of his country. It is not in the nature of the American people, to regard with indifference any popular struggle for deliverance from oppression. Their own history and the fundamental principles of their government,* compel them to feel a lively interest in

all such contests. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that the revolutionary movements upon the continent of Europe, in 1848, should have excited profound concern in the United States. The proclamation and establishment of a republic in France and in Rome, and the temporary success of popular movements in Germany and in Austria, were hailed with universal joy. The Hungarian struggle challenged attention at that time, chiefly by the brilliancy of its military deeds, and the genius displayed by its chief. Comparatively little was then known, either in England or in the United States, of the political institutions of the country, or of the precise grounds on which the contest with Austria was waged. The intervention of Russia, and the treacherous dictatorship of Gorgey, which put an end to that struggle, excited a deep but vague sympathy throughout this country. It was seen and felt that another effort of the people, for deliverance from tyranny, had been crushed by a combination of the absolute powers of Europe: and the result was mourned as postponing still further the longings and the hopes of free spirits throughout the world.

Governor Kossuth's visit to western Europe, and to America, has fastened attention upon Hungary, and directed the public mind to a closer study of her institutions and history. Gifted with extraordinary genius, and especially with the power of impressing other minds, his addresses to the people of England and the United States, have guided and controlled public thought, to a degree never before witnessed under similar circumstances. Released from captivity, through the inter-

position of the constitutional states, he visits them for the double purpose, of returning thanks for their aid, and of invoking still farther their services to the cause of his country and of universal freedom. His appeals to the government and the people, have been fervid, frank and powerful. As specimens of oratorical ability, they take rank with the best productions of ancient or of modern times. They have produced a very marked impression upon the public mind, and have directed the general attention of the people to Hungarian affairs. For some months past, the warmest popular discussions in the United States, have related to the history, the institutions and the fate of a people in the remotest part of eastern Europe, of whom, less has been generally known hitherto, than of any other civilized nation on the face of the earth.

This closer study of Hungarian affairs, has fully vindicated the degree of interest which they had excited. It has disclosed features in the institutions of the country, and brought to light incidents of its history, which give it special claims upon the attention and the sympathy of the American people. The essential principles of constitutional government have been recognized and developed in Hungary for a longer period, and to a greater extent, than in any other European kingdom. The first great charter of English liberty, giving to the barons of England the right, if the king should break the conditions to which he had given his assent, to resist him by war, but stipulating for the safety of his person, was wrested from John at Runnymede in 1215. Seven years from that time, in

1222, the Golden Bull was proclaimed by the Hungarian parliament, and the king was forced to give his assent to its provisions—of which the last was, that, “if the king or his descendants should despise the laws of his country, then the magnates and freemen should be entitled to resist the authority of such a king, without thereby incurring the penalties of high treason;” and this was not the conquest of any new rights, but simply the re-affirmation of those which the Hungarian nation had enjoyed from the earliest foundation of its government.

Through all the subsequent stages of Hungarian history, in the midst of civil dissensions and of foreign wars, whether contending against the Turks, the Wallachs or the Austrians, this principle of the responsibility of their kings to the people, and the right of the people to hold them accountable for their use of power, and to depose and banish them in case of its abuse, was never for one moment relinquished. The doctrine that kings held their power by divine right, and that resistance to them was always a crime—a doctrine which obtained in England as late as the end of the seventeenth century, and which even now finds defenders there—never gained a foothold on the plains of Hungary. Even when the barbarous tribes who came from the steppes of Asia and laid the first foundation of the Hungarian nation, started upon their expedition of colonizing conquest, they made a solemn agreement that their king should be elected, that he should be bound by a compact to respect their rights, and that “if he should

break the contract, he should be deposed and cursed and banished." It was not until the time of Cromwell that the people of England could hold their king to an equal responsibility; and only half a century has elapsed since France was denounced by England, as having placed herself without the pale of civilized nations, by subjecting her king to this degree of accountability. But Hungary had always recognized the responsibility of her rulers to her parliament; and no king ever ascended her throne, without making himself subject to the conditions.

It has also been very clearly seen that the late Hungarian war was not essentially, or in its origin, a revolution; that it was, like the American war for independence, at first a struggle for constitutional rights—a resistance of foreign attempts at subjugation; and that it became a revolution, just like our own contest, only when the relentlessness of foreign tyranny left it no alternative. Hungary was always an independent nation. She had never been subject to any *foreign* power. In 1505, the Estates of the realm, assembled in parliament, on the Rakos field, solemnly resolved, that, in case the throne should become vacant, they would not "elect any foreign prince, no matter of what people or tongue such prince may be;" but that they "would always make an election at the Rakos field, and elect a *Hungarian* who was fit and proper for the throne." This resolution was confirmed by an oath, and was enacted in the most solemn, impressive and unanimous manner. In accordance with its terms, John Zapolya was elected king, in 1526, against

Ferdinand I.: and it was not until 1538, after a long and bloody war, in which Hungary was menaced with destruction by the Turks, that the house of Hapsburg obtained a modified eligibility to the Hungarian throne.

The subsequent history of the country, is simply a record of perjury and ambition on the one side, and of continual resistance on the other. Hungary battled, for three hundred years, for the preservation of her ancient rights—with varying fortunes, but with unchanging steadfastness and courage. Through this whole period, though she sometimes lost them for a time, she never surrendered her rights, or merged her independence in her Austrian connection.

The immediate cause of the late Hungarian war, is to be sought in the proceedings of the Hungarian parliament, and in the barrier which these proceedings interposed to the ambitious designs of Austria. In spite of the incessant warfare made upon them, the political institutions of Hungary had received a steady and a strong development. The legislative power had become vested in a representative parliament, under a constitution, however, which was exclusively aristocratical—the great mass of the people—the peasants—being excluded from all political power. The wisest and most patriotic of the Hungarian statesmen recognized fully the necessity of making a broader basis for Hungarian nationality: and their leading aim, therefore, from 1825, was, to extend the political privileges of the country—to admit the great body of the Hungarian nation to a share of political power, and thus to

establish their independence upon its only just basis, the sovereignty of the people. This design can be clearly traced through all the succeeding parliaments. Some of the nobility of Hungary, loving their country more than their rank, put themselves at the head of what was substantially, and in its inevitable tendencies, a democratic movement. In the parliament of 1832, Szecheny, Wesselenyi, and other magnates, were foremost in the enactment of laws for abrogating exclusive privileges, and for admitting the people to their rightful share of political power. Like all such revolutions, the movement steadily acquired strength, in spite of the vigilant, persevering, and relentless efforts of Austria—whose rulers clearly perceived its tendencies—to repress and crush it. The movement acquired its greatest force, and its fullest development in 1847–48. Months before the outbreak of the French revolution, the Hungarian parliament had passed laws of the utmost importance for the preservation of the constitution, and the establishment of popular sovereignty. These laws, which were carried by the party of which Kossuth was the recognized leader, provided reforms in the internal administration—relieved the peasants from disabilities which had been imposed upon them—admitted them to places of political trust—made suffrage nearly universal—compelled the nobility to pay their share of the taxes—established freedom of the press and trial by jury—and claimed, according to their ancient rights, a ministry responsible to their own parliament. All these laws received the sanction of the king, and their maintenance was guaranteed by an imperial oath.

Thus far the revolution had been peaceful and successful. The rights of the nation had been fully acknowledged, and the laws which her parliament had enacted, had been fully sanctioned. Hungary, with the utmost good faith, continued her connection with Austria, exercising merely the right of local self-government, which her constitution had always guaranteed. If the emperor of Austria had been an honest man, if he had acted in good faith and kept his oath, Hungary would to-day have enjoyed her rightful freedom, while she would have been the surest prop of the Austrian throne. At the very time, however, when Ferdinand was thus assenting to the just demands of the Hungarian diet, he and his court were fomenting rebellion against Hungary in her border provinces. It is now matter of history, that at the very moment when Ferdinand V. was giving his sanction to the Hungarian laws, after he had conceded and appointed an independent Hungarian ministry, and had called upon the Diet to meet and send troops to suppress the rebellion in Croatia, headed by Jellachich whom he had deposed as a rebel—he was sending supplies of money and munitions of war to that leader, and acting in close concert with the rebels themselves. And yet, after this imperial duplicity was fully known, the Hungarian Diet acted in strict accordance with its obligations, and only fulfilled the commands of the emperor, by voting two hundred thousand men to suppress revolt. The royal mask was then thrown aside. The decree deposing Jellachich was revoked, and he was confirmed in full authority. The

rebellion was sustained and fed by the Austrian court. A decree was issued making Jellachich commander-in-chief of all the imperial troops, placing Hungary under martial law, and merging into one monarchy all the countries and people under the Austrian crown. This war was waged by Austria, for the complete subjugation of Hungary; and Hungarian resistance, so far from being a rebellion, was simply an act of self-defense. How nobly that defensive war was waged, this history will tell. How loftily the public spirit of the nation rose, as danger pressed upon it—how wisely and bravely the Diet, under the guidance of Kossuth, met the crisis, these pages will show. The history of that year of war, will stand forever as one of the most glorious in the annals of the world. Austria was repelled—the attempt at conquest was defeated. Then it was that the aid of Russia was invoked, and the armies of the Czar entered Hungary for its subjugation. Driven to it by the murderous attempts upon its life, Hungary proclaimed the deposition of the house of Hapsburg. And she would have maintained her position, against both Austria and Russia, but for the treachery of Gorgey. With the details of that shameful surrender, the world is already familiar. Having obtained complete ascendancy over the best portion of the Hungarian army, he compelled Kossuth, who had been unanimously elected by the Diet, Governor-President of Hungary, to resign his power into his hands. Thus made supreme, he surrendered Hungary to the Russian army, obtaining for himself a free pardon, and for his country the peace of despotism, and sending

to the Austrian gallows and into exile, the noble and devoted spirits, who had fought by his side for the good of their father-land. Gorgey was a man of iron will, of greater executive, military energy than Kossuth, and a thorough soldier. While the war was simply one of defense against Croatian rebellion, sustained by Austria, intended to secure Hungarian rights under the imperial crown, I have no doubt that Gorgey was a sincere, as he certainly was an efficient friend of his country. But when the only alternative was independence, his patriotism failed. He was unwilling to encounter Austria and Russia combined—he was jealous and envious of Kossuth—he had no just appreciation of political principles or of popular rights—he smarted under chastisements which his ill-judged conduct had drawn upon him—and he took what seemed to him the shortest way out of the dreadful entanglement. If he and his army had been true, and if England and the United States had evinced any adequate interest in that struggle for constitutional liberty, Hungary would now be free.

The crimes and errors of the past may be deplored, but they cannot be corrected. The independence which Hungary enjoyed for eight hundred years, has been crushed. Hungary is now, what she never was before, simply a province of the Austrian empire. For the present, the United States have nothing to do, but to recognize existing facts. But the experience of the past renders it certain, that despotism cannot always hold the millions of Europe in unresisted thralldom. Hungary, like the other crushed nationalities of Europe, will at some time make

another struggle for her freedom. It may not be next year, it may not be for ten years to come. But such a struggle is as inevitable as the lapse of time. It is proper that the people of the United States should be prepared for the crisis whenever it may arrive. It cannot be that this republic, whose existence as a matter of right depends wholly on the principle of popular sovereignty, and whose example has stirred all Europe with strange longings for a freedom accounted a dream before — it cannot be that this great republic, girt with power and reposing in the might of assured liberty, has no duties, no rights, no responsibilities, in connection with the great movement of the age for human freedom. And even if the spirit of our people were so supine and selfish as not to feel that responsibility, the events of coming time, the inevitable tendencies of the age, would force our country into that position which it is her duty, and which it should be her pride, to assume. For the last fifty years she has been stirring up revolutions at the heart of every oppressed people on the face of the earth. Her influence, like that of nature, will make itself efficient, whether she designs it or not. The genial warmth of a southern sun is not more hostile to ice and snow, than is this republic to the despotisms which freeze the life-blood of humanity in Europe. That ice must melt — those vast bonds which ages of deathly frost have accumulated, must dissolve — before the rapidly augmenting fervor of our example.

It were folly to hope that we can always escape the hostility of those gigantic powers, whose existence is menaced by ours. There must come a time, when the two great principles which

have now been contending for half a century for the mastery of the world — despotic ambition and republican freedom — shall meet in final encounter. The republic of the west — the great republic of the world, cannot evade her share in that great struggle.

“O dastard whom such foretaste doth not cheer!

We shall exult, if they who rule the land,

Be men who hold its many blessings dear;

Wise, upright, valiant; not a servile band,

Who are to judge of DANGER WHICH THEY FEAR,

AND HONOR WHICH THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND.”

H. J. R.

New York, Feb., 1852.

KOSSUTH AND HIS GENERALS:

WITH A

BRIEF HISTORY OF HUNGARY.

CHAPTER I.

HUNGARY UNDER THE DYNASTY OF ARPAD.

THE Austrian empire comprises the larger portion of the immense basin, in the interior of Eastern Europe, watered by the Danube and its tributaries. On the south it touches the gulf of Venice, but is separated from the Baltic sea, on the north, by Prussia, and from the Black sea, on the east, by the European provinces of the Ottoman empire. Its north-eastern frontier is contiguous to that of Russia for several hundred miles. Switzerland and the German and Italian states form its western boundary.

A cluster of heterogeneous states, acquired at various periods, and peopled by nations dissimilar in their origin, language, laws and customs, constitutes the Austrian empire. These nations, before being finally brought under the sway of the house of Hapsburg, more than three hundred years ago, had been often at war with each other, and each had been by turns the victor and the vanquished. The neighboring powers

were always more or less involved in their conflicts, and for twenty centuries the Austrian territories of to-day were the principal battle-field of Europe. Alternately overrun by Romans, Vandals, Goths, Huns, Lombards, Franks, and Magyars,—now expanding into the mightiest government of Europe and now dwindling into the weakest,—at one time broken into numerous fragments, each claiming independent sovereignty, and these afterward apportioned among the surrounding nations,—sold piecemeal to replenish the exhausted exchequers of profligate princes or forming the dowry of regal brides,—vibrating between conquerors from the east, and conquerors from the west, as either proved to be most formidable,—no country in Europe has been so frequently devastated by the blighting tread of armies, and none has been the subject of so many changing dynasties, as Austria. But, for three centuries it has again been gradually growing in importance, and is now among the most powerful and influential monarchies in Europe. Not less than 260,000 square miles in extent, it is estimated to contain over 35,000,000 inhabitants.

Hungary and its dependencies constitute the eastern half of the empire, with a population of 15,000,000. The Hungarians are the descendants of a warlike race of Tartars, who once inhabited the vast plains between the frozen regions of Siberia and the genial valleys of China. The history of these Tartars can be traced back to the year 209, B. C., when, as a defense against their inroads, the great wall of China was built. Internal dissensions having finally weakened the power of the Tartars, the Chinese gained

dominion over them toward the close of the first century. When their kingdom was overthrown, a large body of Tartars, unwilling to submit to the conquerors, started westward in search of a new home. Some of them settled near the sources of the Ural river, in Asia, while others continued their march until they reached the country north of the Black sea, in Europe. Here they remained for more than two centuries, and assumed the name of Huns. Then, accompanied by many tribes whom they had conquered, they passed over the Carpathian mountains, and took possession of the valleys along the Danube, to which they gave the name of Hungary. They made war upon the Romans, and, at the beginning of the fifth century, Rouas compelled them to pay him tribute.

In 443 Rouas was succeeded by his nephew, Attila. Sole master of a warlike people, his unbounded ambition made him the terror of all nations; and, claiming to be a divinely appointed instrument to chastise the human race, he called himself the *scourge of God*. He founded one of the largest kingdoms known in history. He extended his conquests from Gaul to Persia. He laid waste all the countries from the Black to the Adriatic sea. He besieged Constantinople and Rome; and the emperors of the east and the west were glad to purchase a peace with him. His army is said to have consisted of 700,000 men, and at the close of one of his battles with the Romans and Goths, 106,000 dead bodies were strewn upon the field. He was never without a pretext for war, for all states which promised him a rich booty

were his natural enemies, and all princes whom he hoped to conquer had broken alliances. In the year 453 he added the beautiful Ildico to his numerous wives. On the morning after the marriage, his warriors, eager to salute their master, thronged into his tent. They found Ildico veiled, sitting by the cold corpse of her husband. During the night he had been suffocated by his own blood. Soon after his death his empire fell in pieces, but the hordes of Huns continued to live on the Danube, until they lost their name and identity by intermixture with other nations.

In the mean time, that portion of the Tartars who had settled near the Ural river, after the conquest of their native land by the Chinese, were becoming a powerful nation. As they increased in numbers, they spread around the Caspian sea, until every tribe on its coasts acknowledged their authority. Here they assumed the name of Magyars. Restless and enterprising, they became dissatisfied with their rigorous northern home, and resolved to extend their conquests into a more sunny clime. They were taught, by popular traditions, to believe that the country west of the Euxine, where their renowned kinsman Attila had established a vast kingdom, was of unexampled loveliness and salubrity. Regarding that beautiful land as their inheritance, they were eager to enter upon its possession. The Magyar armies turned the heads of their horses to the west. At every step they were met by fierce and resolute warriors. They passed through the most extraordinary adventures, and performed the most incredible feats of arms. Moving

slowly around the Euxine or Black sea,—overcoming the nations that opposed their progress, and gaining strength by every victory,—they approached the Danube. Beginning in the sixth century, it was not until toward the close of the ninth that they reached the Carpathian mountains, over which, five hundred years before, the victorious hordes of their brethren, the Huns, had passed. In the year 894, the Magyars, under Prince Almos, looked down from the Carpathian crags upon the smiling plains of Hungary. Their army consisted of 300,000 warriors, but it was not until the year 900 that the subjugation of the country was finally accomplished. Almos had previously died, and was succeeded by his son Arpad, who was not only endowed with the military genius of his father, but possessed all the qualities of a great statesman.

Scarcely were the Magyars established in Hungary, when their predatory excursions filled the neighboring nations with fear and astonishment. Fortune favored them, and they spread the terror of their arms in all directions. While one army was ravaging Germany, and even making inroads upon France, another was thundering at the walls of Constantinople. Botond, a Hungarian hero, it is said, broke the gates of that city with his club. Conquering all the nations between the Adriatic, Baltic, and Black seas, the Magyars invaded Italy, and fought a battle on the Brenta, in which twenty thousand Italians were slain. The German and the Byzantine emperors, unable to resist their armies, were constrained to conciliate them with gifts of the costliest and most

magnificent character. "Oh, Lord! preserve us from the Hungarians!" was the universal prayer, even inserted in the liturgy of the churches, throughout southern and western Europe.

These predatory expeditions, under Soltan and Taksony, the successors of Arpad, ceased with the introduction of christianity under his grandson, Duke Geisa. Sarolta, wife of Geisa, was an enlightened and devout Catholic, and it was partly owing to her influence that the attention of the people was diverted from the arts of war to the pursuits of peace. They were gradually instructed in agriculture and manufactures, by the Slavonians and Germans whom they had conquered, and by the colonists and cavaliers whom they invited to settle among them. Although a majority of the nation were strongly attached to their pagan worship, and opposed the introduction of christianity, so much was Sarolta beloved by the whole people, that she was permitted peacefully to erect churches, found monasteries and employ priests to instruct her subjects in the worship of the true God. Geisa professed to be a convert to christianity, but the intractable descendant of a race of barbarian heroes, does not seem to have very clearly understood the character of the creed he had adopted, for he continued to adore and sacrifice to the ancient divinities of his nation. To the remonstrances of the worshipers of the sun and the elements, on the one hand, and to the entreaties of the pious and affectionate Sarolta, on the other, the politic and proud old prince had but one reply: "I can afford to worship both the old gods and the new one!"

Geisa died in 997, and was succeeded by his son Stephen, a wise, energetic and liberal prince. To secure the freedom, prosperity and happiness of the people, and render their national existence permanent, was the great purpose of his life. The system of government adopted by Arpad, was found unsuited to the changed condition of the people. Stephen gave a new constitution to the country. The rights and duties of the citizens were clearly defined, and ample provision was made to secure the inviolability of personal freedom, and the protection of private property. No other country had a written constitution, and in none were the relations and obligations of the subject to his ruler, so well established and understood. As a constitutional state, it was a model for all Europe. In England it was two hundred years afterward, and in France a still longer period, before the laws protected the people from the arbitrary tyranny of their rulers.

Stephen carried on the work begun by Sarolta, and catholicism became the established faith of the nation. He acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the pope—he established two richly endowed bishoprics—he instituted tithes—he gave the bishops the first rank among the nobility, and authorized the chapter of each diocese to try certain civil causes, especially those relating to dowries and the inheritance of property. None but those who made a profession of christianity were permitted to hold landed estates.

Paganism did not yield to these measures without a violent struggle. Kupa, duke of Somogy, headed the rebellion. A large army drew their swords in

defense of their inherited heathen faith; but they were finally defeated in the year 1000. Thonuzoba, one of the pagan chiefs, was so incensed by the prevalence of christianity, that he mounted his horse, dressed in full armor, and caused himself to be buried alive. He impiously declared that he "preferred death with his fathers, to eternal life with Christ."

As a reward for his services in extirpating the heathen, Pope Sylvester II. sent Stephen a golden crown, and induced him to exchange the name of obeahaupt, or duke, for the more splendid title of king. To enhance the value of the gift, and probably to strengthen the faith of the new converts, an artifice, not uncommon in those days, was resorted to. Sylvester pretended that the crown had been wrought by angels, and delivered to him by a celestial messenger, to be placed on the brow of the pious prince. Stephen was accordingly crowned in the year 1001.

In the latter part of Stephen's reign, he had much anxiety in regard to the choice of a successor. His only son had died in the year 1031. Some of his relatives were favorable to paganism; others were weak and inefficient, and could not safely be intrusted with the administration of affairs. At length he decided in favor of Vazul, his cousin. Gisela, Stephen's sister, who had married the doge of Venice, desired that her son Peter should succeed to the throne. To accomplish her purpose she employed some bravos to put out the eyes of Vazul, and pour melted lead in his ears, so that being both blind and

deaf he would be incapable of governing. As this diabolical crime was not punished by Stephen, a conspiracy, under the pretense that he had arrived at his dotage, was formed against him by some of the most indignant of the people. The assassin employed to murder him, approached the bed where the king was asleep, but his heart failed him, and his sword fell upon the floor. Stephen awoke, and turning to the assassin calmly asked, "Why would you kill me?" The man knelt, confessed his crime, and implored pardon. This was granted, and the king never sought even to know who were the conspirators. Resigning the crown to Peter, he died in 1036. He was canonized by the church, and St. Stephen is greatly revered in Hungary.

Peter's vices made him odious to the people, and he was soon expelled from the kingdom. He fled to the court of Henry III., of Germany, and meanly proposed to acknowledge fealty to that emperor, if he would furnish an army to subdue the rebellious Magyars. Peter entered Hungary in 1043, and regained the throne. But when the Hungarians learned that he had sacrificed the honor of the nation for the possession of the crown, they sent a message to Andreas, another relative of St. Stephen, and invited him to become their king. Andreas was irresolute but his brother Bela urged him to accept the invitation. As he entered the kingdom the people flocked to his standard, and after a brief conflict Peter was defeated. Andreas was crowned in 1047. Henry III., by virtue of his bargain with Peter, claimed dominion over Hungary. Twice he invaded the

kingdom, and each time the Hungarians fled before him, until he had entered the heart of their forests and plains, then cutting off his supplies, sinking his ships, and harassing him with continual skirmishes, they utterly destroyed his armies. In 1053 he resigned his claim upon Hungary.

Andreas had promised Bela a dukedom, and the succession to the throne which was won by his genius and valor. Regardless of his obligations and his pledges, Andreas had his son Solomon crowned as king in 1058. Bela was silent; but Andreas was fearful that he would win the support of a powerful party in the state, and determined on his complete overthrow. Bela was required to visit the king. At the feet of Andreas lay the crown and the sword, the symbols of royal and ducal dignity, and he told Bela to choose between them. While the king was speaking, one of the courtiers passed near Bela and whispered, "Don't take the crown if you value your life!" Bela smiled; but he understood that Andreas had given commands for his instant assassination if he should choose the crown. Grasping the sword, he left the castle. His life was in danger, and he fled to Poland. Andreas foresaw his return with a Polish army. He sent his queen and son to the court of the German emperor, to whose infant daughter the boy was betrothed, and entreated assistance to repel Bela's invasion. But the Hungarians joined Bela, and Andreas was defeated and slain, and his German auxiliaries were driven from the country.

Bela ascended the throne in 1061, and met with an accidental death in 1063. He published a general

amnesty — reformed old abuses — limited the expenditures, but made many public improvements — urged the people to abandon their wandering habits, and establish themselves in permanent homes — coined money — regulated weights and measures, and in all respects was a wise and energetic prince. The strictness and impartiality with which justice was administered won the admiration of the nation. In arranging the elections so that the people at large might have a voice in the government, through their deputies to the Diet, he proved himself to be not only a friend of freedom, but a statesman far in advance of his age. “The poor became rich,” says an old historian, “and the rich prospered in safety and peace.” During his reign the last insurrection in favor of paganism occurred. The populace were so inflamed by the soothsayers and witches that the bishops and king’s counselors trembled. Although the infuriated mob surrounded his castle, Bela was undismayed. The soothsayers and witches were arrested in the midst of their friends, and promptly executed. With the death of the principal agitators the insurrection ceased and paganism was finally eradicated from Hungary.

Geisa, Ladislav, and Lampert, Bela’s sons, inherited their father’s valor, magnanimity and patriotism. It was the nation’s wish that Geisa should become their king, but he, devoid of personal ambition, and regardful only of his country’s welfare, favored the choice of Solomon, then at the court of the emperor Henry III., because a war with Germany would thus be avoided. Immediately after the crown, through the influence of Bela’s sons, was placed upon the brow

of Solomon, the ungrateful and treacherous king deprived them of their father's dukedom. They fled for safety to Poland. The people, indignant at Solomon's conduct, drove him back to the frontiers of Germany, and it was only through the intercession of Geisa, who positively refused the crown and placed it a third time on Solomon's brow, that his authority was acknowledged by them.

Under the command of Geisa and Ladislas, the Hungarian armies were uniformly victorious. They drove back the warlike tribes that invaded Hungary from the north, and defeated the Grecian armies in the south. For his humane treatment of the garrison at Belgrade, which had surrendered to Geisa, the Byzantine emperor sent him a golden circlet for his brow. Subsequently this royal band was joined to the diadem sent by Pope Sylvester to St. Stephen. Solomon, envious of Geisa's popularity, endeavored to have him assassinated. For this perfidious act the people again drove him into Germany, and amidst universal rejoicings, Geisa was placed upon the throne.

After this, Geisa opened negotiations with Solomon, and proposed to surrender the crown to the exiled king, asking only that the quiet possession of the dukedom should be guaranteed to himself and brothers. Before the arrangement was completed, Geisa died, and was succeeded by Ladislas. The latter, however, unwilling to be called a usurper, could not be prevailed upon to accept the crown until Solomon had formally resigned all claim to it. The faithless Solomon afterward raised an army in Germany, and endeavored to regain possession of the power he had

so often forfeited. Ladislas ordered him to be seized and imprisoned, but liberated him on the day that his ancestor, Stephen, was canonized by the pope. A portion of the tower is still standing from which the imbecile tyrant, blind to his own baseness, looked abroad upon the country, and cursed the people for forsaking him, and invoked upon them eternal discord.

The successors of Arpad were generally wise and patriotic. With an occasional exception, their lives were unstained by the violence, oppression and crime which are usually the chief characteristics in the history of kings. They were solicitous for the welfare and happiness of the people, rather than for their own aggrandizement. A horde of wandering barbarians were, in the course of a single century, transformed by their policy into a civilized and christian nation. However unsuited some of their institutions would be for nations at the present day, their influence proved that they were judiciously adapted to the wants of the people at that period. They not only extended the boundaries of the kingdom, but they asserted, firmly in the cabinet and successfully on the battle-field, the dignity of the Hungarian crown, and the independence of the nation, and maintained order at home by judicious laws and prudent regulations.

Ladislas was a worthy descendant of the illustrious Arpad. A chivalrous warrior and able statesman, the nation prospered under his guidance. He introduced a new and improved code of criminal and civil laws. By the conquest of Slavonia and Croatia, he enlarged and strengthened the kingdom. He compelled the northern tribes that were accustomed to make frequent

inroads into Hungary to acknowledge his authority. He fought a duel with and killed Akosh, the king of the Kumans, a man of gigantic height. So great was his renown throughout Christendom, that when the first crusade was determined on, in 1095, the command was unanimously offered to him; but he died before the expedition was undertaken. He was so much endeared to the people, that a general mourning of three years followed his death. During this period all festivities were suspended, and the sound of no instrument of music disturbed the sorrowing people.

Kolomon, the next king of Hungary, was as remarkable for his deformity as Ladislas had been for beauty. Incapable of bearing arms, he had devoted his time to scientific pursuits. He was regarded by many of the superstitious people as a powerful wizard. This fact, probably, occasioned his remarkable decree, that no one should be persecuted as a witch. "There are," said he, "no such beings as witches in the world." Supposing him to be ignorant of war, the tribes that had been subdued by Ladislas, rebelled against his authority, and several of the nations on the borders of Hungary made war against him; but the insurrections were speedily quelled, and the invaders followed into their own territories and subjugated.

For a hundred years after the death of Kolomon, which occurred in 1114, Hungary was distracted by civil dissensions. The popular welfare and popular rights were overlooked in the contentions of rival factions, and the struggles of rival claimants of the crown. Koloman, whose enlightened statesmanship had done much to advance the liberties of the people,

and secure an impartial administration of justice, was not without serious faults. His energy sometimes degenerated into violence, and his intrepidity into ferocity. His cousin Almos, who had once convulsed the country by his intrigues to possess himself of the crown, and had received a generous pardon after his plans were frustrated, rebelled a second time. Kolomon, enraged that his lenity had been misused, seized Almos, and not only had his eyes put out, but also those of his innocent son Bela.

Stephen II. son of Koloman, possessed none of the great or good qualities of his father. Licentious in his youth, he became a devotee in his declining years. As an atonement for his father's and his own sins, he resigned the throne in favor of the blind Bela, and became a monk.

Throughout his reign Bela was influenced by his wife Helena, who was ambitious and cruel. Under the pretense that they had advised the mutilation of her husband, she had sixty-eight persons beheaded at one time. Those who did not yield to her policy were either imprisoned or exiled, and their property was confiscated.

Bela was followed by Geisa II. in 1151, Stephen III. in 1161, and Bela III. in 1173. During this period the kingdom was weakened by domestic feuds, and the Greeks obtained much influence over its policy. Bela III. had been educated at Constantinople, married a daughter of Manuel, the Byzantine emperor, and was promised the succession to the throne of Byzantium. But Manuel unexpectedly became father of a son, and on the death of Stephen, Bela ascended the throne of

Hungary. On the death of his oriental wife, Bela wedded Margaret, sister of the French king, and widow of an English prince. Courtiers from Constantinople and from Paris followed their royal mistresses to Hungary, while many of the Hungarian nobles visited the courts with which their king had become connected, and their simple and unostentatious habits were speedily exchanged for the refinements, the luxuries, and the vices of the Byzantine and the French capitals.

Another event had been largely influential in modifying the character and customs of the Hungarians. The armies of crusaders from western Europe, who went to Palestine to rescue the sepulcher of the Savior from the hands of the infidels, had all passed through Hungary. By the irresistible magic of his eloquence, that remarkable fanatic, Peter the Hermit, had kindled the religious zeal of christian Europe into a flame, and had roused a general impulse to rescue the Holy Land, the land where Jesus lived, taught and died for mankind, from the power of the Mohammedans. Not only was the religious enthusiasm of the people awakened, but the worst passions of men were enlisted in the enterprise. The ambitious hoped to increase their authority — warriors saw an opportunity to gain renown in fighting against the unbelievers — others were led on by the love of excitement and adventure, and others still had the prospect of abundant plunder in view. Large armies of disciplined troops, and countless hordes of marauders passed through Hungary on their way to Jerusalem. At one time 300,000 of the dregs of Europe, of both sexes, after terrifying all Germany with their frightful excesses, entered the frontiers of

Hungary. Luckily the undaunted and able Koloman was on the throne. An army of crusaders under Walter the Moneyless, for some supposed indignity, slaughtered 4000 Hungarians at Semlin. Koloman took the field and destroyed on one occasion an army of 15,000, while scarcely one-fourth of another large force escaped the arrows of the Hungarians. Peter the Hermit, and 200,000 of the rabble at his heels, were panic-struck, and fled, as best they could, across the Danube. By his decision and some important concessions to the pope, Koloman saved his land from destruction, and secured thereafter a considerable degree of subordination among the crusaders. Many on their way to the Holy Land, weary of the enterprise, remained in Hungary, and others, while returning, were so well pleased with its delightful climate and fertile soil, that they settled there permanently.

Bela died in 1195, leaving two sons, Emrich and Andreas. He had accumulated an immense private treasure which he gave to Andreas on condition that he would make a crusade to the holy sepulcher, and renounce his claim to the crown. But Andreas, disregarding his promise, used the money in organizing an army with which he seized the provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia. And when Emrich had his boy Ladislas crowned king of Hungary, thus excluding Andreas from the succession, that turbulent prince made war against his brother. He had won so large a number of partizans by his liberality that Emrich nearly despaired of holding out against him. In this extremity the king, with the crown upon his brow and the scepter in his hand, entered the camp of Andreas, and

exclaimed, "I am your king! Who dares to raise a traitor's hand against his sovereign?" The soldiers were awed by his presence, and he arrested Andreas in the midst of his troops. Ladislas, the young prince, survived his father but a short time, and Andreas ascended the throne in 1205.

The reign of Andreas II. is memorable in Hungarian history. He was weak, extravagant, and desirous of influence in foreign courts. That he might place his second son, Koloman, on a throne, he conquered Galicia. In accomplishing this purpose, he brought distress upon the country. Business was prostrated, and the finances became so disarranged that he sold the crown lands and other domains relied upon to maintain the military establishment. He surrounded himself with foreign favorites, and treated the native aristocracy with neglect. To defray the expenses of an expedition to Jerusalem, he seized the property belonging to the widow of Emrich, who had married the emperor of Germany, and thus to the hatred of his own subjects brought upon himself the enmity of a powerful prince. Although the treasury was empty, and the people grievously oppressed, he undertook to reconquer Galicia, which had rebelled against his son, and driven him from the country. Unwilling to endure further exactions, and determined to put an end to the extension of the royal prerogatives, the nobility, headed by the king's son Bela, wrung from Andreas in 1222, a charter similar to the *magna charta* which the stern barons of England had constrained King John to grant seven years before. A portion of the preamble to the *bullæ aurea* or *golden bull* of

Andreas II. is as follows: "The liberties of the nobility and of certain other natives of these realms, as founded by King Stephen, the Saint, having suffered great detriment and curtailment by the violence of sundry kings, who were impelled by their own evil propensities, and by the advice of certain malicious persons, and partly by the cravings of their own insatiable cupidity, the nobles of the country had preferred frequent petitions for the confirmation of the constitution of these realms, to such an extent that in utter contempt of his (the king's) royal authority, violent discussions and accusations had arisen." After this rather emphatic confession of kingly encroachments upon the constitutional liberties of the people, Andreas was required to declare that "he is willing to confirm and maintain, for all times to come, the nobility and freemen of the country in all their rights, privileges, and immunities, as provided by the statutes of St. Stephen." Some of the principal enactments of this great charter are as follows:

Personal freedom was secured to all, it being rendered illegal to imprison or punish any one who had not been duly summoned and convicted by the ordinary tribunals. The nobility were to be exempt from taxation, but were required to do military service at their own expense. They could not, however, be compelled to serve in an aggressive war, nor on other than Hungarian territory. Persons were authorized to dispose of their estates by will, according to their inclination, without interference from the king. Foreigners were to be excluded from holding offices or estates before they had obtained letters of naturalization.

While the nobility were carefully protected from oppression on the part of the king, ample safeguards were placed between the people and the exercise of arbitrary power by the nobility. The courts were compelled to take cognizance of, and decide on all complaints of oppressive or illegal use of official power, even in the case of the highest functionaries. Unfair decisions exposed the judges to indictment, and if found guilty, they were bound to indemnify the aggrieved party. In concluding this solemn re-affirmation of the rights, privileges and immunities of the nobility and the people, the king declared "that if he or any of his successors should ever be found to transgress the provisions of this bill, then the bishops, the high dignitaries, and the whole nobility, for all times to come, shall, by virtue of this bill, be entitled and empowered, jointly or severally, to oppose and contradict the king and his successors after him, as the case may be, without incurring the penalties of high treason."

Seven copies of the *bullæ aurea* were made and delivered for safe keeping to the pope, the knights of the hospital of St. John, the knight templars in Hungary, the king, the archbishops of Gran and Kalotsa, and the palatine and his successors, with strict injunctions to the latter, "to be very mindful of the said golden bull, even so that neither he in his own person shall transgress the articles, nor shall he allow either the king, or the nobility or others, to transgress the same. But he ought to watch that every man was left in the full enjoyment of his legal liberties, and that, in

return, due respect and loyalty was paid to the king and his successors after him." *

Andreas had no sooner assented to this solemn compact than he endeavored to destroy it, and he sullenly opposed it until his death, in 1235. Bela IV., who as heir apparent had taken the lead in the popular movement, remained faithful to his principles when he ascended the throne. His reign was long and stormy. In 1241 the Mongols, from Asia, invaded Europe with an army of 500,000 men. Austria and Germany, instead of assisting Bela to repel the common enemy, were glad to see Hungary weakened, in the hope that it would afterward become to them an easy prey.

* The *magna charta* granted by King John to the English barons in 1215 has nearly the same provision : " And the said twenty-five barons [appointed to enforce the observance of the charter,] together with the commonality of the whole land, may distrain and distress us all the ways possible, namely : by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, till the grievance is redressed according to their judgment ; saving harmless our own person, and the person of our queen and children : and when it is redressed, they shall obey us as before ! " The reader can scarcely fail to be struck by the singular coincidence of two countries so little known to each other as were England and Hungary, having obtained within seven years of each other, through the weakness of their monarchs, the great charters of their liberties. The Hungarians were then doubtless superior to the English in enlightened notions of freedom, of civil right and of political privilege. It was among the first aggressions of Austria upon the rights of Hungary, to annul the last article of the *bullæ aurea* — the article which gave vitality to it by authorizing resistance to unwarranted assumptions of power by the king. By a royal decree in 1687, this clause was to be omitted from the coronation oath—not, it was declared, "from any objection to its true sense, but lest evil-disposed persons, by false interpretations, should make a wrong use of it."

For nearly two years the Mongols had possession of the country, burning the towns and slaughtering the inhabitants. Bela, who had been a fugitive during this time, found means to repel the invaders and restore the prosperity of the country. When, twenty years later, the Mongols again invaded Hungary, Bela drove them back with a loss of fifty thousand men. After the retreat of these wild hordes, Bela endeavored to heal the wounds of his kingdom, and raise it from the deplorable condition to which it had been reduced. He invited Germans to settle in the depopulated districts, and endeavored to elevate the condition of the people by granting them new privileges. But an insurrection headed by his son Stephen weakened the royal authority, disturbed the administration of justice, and impeded the prosperity of the kingdom. Bela died in 1270. Stephen V., who in his eagerness for power, had attempted the overthrow of his father, survived him only two years; and Ladislas IV., when only ten years of age, ascended the throne. He was licentious in the extreme, and at the age of twenty-eight, was assassinated by Kuman bandits in the employ of Edna, a beautiful Kuman girl, whom the king had debauched and afterward abandoned.

In 1260 Ottokar, of Bohemia, defeated Bela IV. at Marchfield, and obtained from him the province of Stiria. Afterward Ottokar refused to acknowledge Rudolph of Hapsburg as emperor. In the war that ensued the Hungarians took the part of Rudolph, and aided him, in 1278, to defeat Ottokar on the same field where he had overcome Bela. This day laid the foundation of the Hapsburgs, a family which, from the

time they obtained a place among the sovereigns of Europe to the present period, have been the steady champions of absolutism and intolerance—the inveterate foes of civil rights and religious liberty.

In 1290 Ladislas was succeeded by Andreas III., who, after a turbulent reign, was poisoned in 1301. With his death the male line of the descendants of Arpad became extinct.

CHAPTER II.

HUNGARY FROM 1301 TO 1526.

For four centuries the male descendants of the great founder of the kingdom had swayed the destinies of Hungary. Warlike courage and an unbounded love of liberty were the prominent characteristics of Arpad's followers. Coming from Asia, the home of despotism, they brought with them the germs of a free constitution; barbarians, they had better views of civil liberty and tolerance, and truer ideas of just government than the more civilized nations of Europe. The idea that the proper objects of government are the safety, the welfare, and the happiness of the whole people, appears to have been paramount among all classes from the king to the peasant. The antagonistic idea that the people were made for the rulers,—that the masses lived only to minister to the pride, the ambition, and the lusts of princes, and that they might be plundered and oppressed at will, and compelled to encounter death on the battle-field, not for the maintenance of popular rights, but to strengthen tyranny, was the guiding principle of the surrounding sovereigns. Before the Hungarian kings began to be entangled in the corrupting and inhuman web of European politics, through matrimonial and other alliances, they were high-minded, generous and patriotic,

seldom distinguishing their personal interests from the interests of the people at large, and always ready to relax their own authority when demanded by the general good; but their connection with other powers involved them in the selfish policy of their neighbors, and tainted their purity and disinterestedness in the management of their domestic concerns. The simplicity, the integrity, and the rugged virtues of the people were displaced by the graces, the insincerity, and the genteel depravity of the foreign courtiers that came among them. Still, while there were heirs to the crown among the Hungarians themselves, the nation struggled vigorously against the malign influences brought in contact with them. But when the male line of Arpad became extinct by the death of Andreas III., Hungary was hurled into the seething vortex of European politics. To repress, and not to develop free institutions, became the policy of its rulers. Their interests were adverse to those of the people. The claimants of the crown were from abroad. Their pretensions were based on their descent from Hungarian princesses who had wedded foreign sovereigns. A swarm of these pretenders started up on the death of Andreas, and even before that event. After a warfare of eight years, through the influence of the pope, Charles Robert of Anjou was elected king. Of distinguished ability, his ambition was to have a splendid government, and to control the politics of other nations. He died in 1342, after a long and successful reign.

Wise as were the commercial regulations of Charles Robert, and active as was his solicitude for the public welfare, his memory is blackened by one of the most

atrocious crimes recorded in history. He delighted to introduce into his new kingdom the shows and entertainments common to the more refined courts of Europe. Within the walls of Wissegrad frequent tilts and tournaments were held, and the old chronicles tell of royal entertainments in which four thousand loaves of bread and two thousand bottles of wine were consumed every day for a fortnight. But with this pomp and luxury came a looseness of morals, the common fruit of meretricious civilization engrafted on barbarism,—of which the rude but virtuous Hungarians had no previous idea. The excesses of the new king and his court were a scandal to the whole land. Following the example of the licentious Charles Robert, Casimir, king of Poland, while on a visit to Wissegrad, forced from Clara Felizian, a lady of the court, of surpassing beauty, and chaste as she was beautiful, favors denied to his entreaties. In this infamy he is said to have been aided by his sister, the wife of Charles Robert, who was probably driven to the crime by jealousy of her husband's fancied admiration for the maid. The moment Clara could escape from her enemies, she hastened to demand the protection of her father, one of the most influential barons of the realm, and an ardent supporter of the king. No sooner did the poor old man receive the piteous complaints of his child, than, maddened by rage at the shame put upon his family, he hurried to the castle to avenge with blood, the honor of his daughter. Saber in hand, he entered the hall where the king and queen, with their children were seated at table, striking at every thing in his way. He wounded the king, and cut off four fingers

from the queen's hand before the attendants could destroy him. If the attempted revenge of the dishonored father was bloody and unjust in its object, what shall be said of the fiendish cruelty of Charles Robert, in satiating his own rage? The innocent Clara was seized, and suffered the mutilation of her hands, nose and lips; and in this condition was led through different cities, to the cry of "So perish the enemies of the king!" Her body, and that of her young brother, were then bound to horses' tails, and finally thrown to the dogs. Even the most distant relations of the unhappy family, who could have taken no part in the affair, were cruelly executed, "in order that the whole of the race of the traitors might be extinguished!" The diet were required to give a formal sanction to this act of vindictive atrocity. From that time, say the old historians, the banners of Charles Robert no longer floated over victorious armies.

Louis, son of Charles Robert, was seventeen years of age when his father died. He extended the dominion of the Hungarians to the Baltic, Adriatic and Black seas. During a reign of forty years, he made Hungary the most powerful country in Christendom. The propagation of the Romish creed, the enlargement of the kingdom and the aggrandizement of the crown, were the aims of his life, and in each he was abundantly successful. On the death of his uncle, Casimir, he was elected king of Poland. He died in 1382, before he had accomplished a contemplated union of the two kingdoms. Hedviga, his second daughter, became queen of Poland.

Maria, the eldest daughter of Louis, was crowned

queen of Hungary, while her husband, Sigismund, received the title of "guardian of the realm." Maria was unpopular, and some of the nobles invited Charles Martell, king of Naples, to the throne. He met with no considerable resistance, and in 1385 was crowned in presence of Maria and her mother. Shortly after, the queens invited him to a confidential interview, where they had him assassinated. Maria was again acknowledged as queen. But, as she proved unequal to the position, Sigismund had the address, in 1387, to get elected king. He became greatly intermixed with the complicated statesmanship of the period. He was elected king of Bohemia and emperor of Germany, and was constantly engaged in intrigues for a still wider extension of his authority. Hungary suffered greatly while the king was striving for political ascendancy in other states. At one time the Hungarian magnates, weary of his neglect of their national affairs, seized him in his palace, and made him a prisoner. They kept him in confinement four months, but released him on his promising not to avenge his imprisonment. This interference in the affairs of other states involved him in many wars, in aid of his allies. Hungary, without having an interest in these quarrels, was impoverished by the active part which Sigismund took in them.

In the early part of his long reign, the Turks began to threaten Europe, under their renowned leader Bajazet. Sigismund led against them one hundred thousand horsemen, and two thousand nobles, consisting of the flower of the French, German, and Hungarian chivalry. As he marked the close and well-ordered

ranks of his followers, he insolently exclaimed, "With such an army I can brave the world! Their spears would uphold the canopy of heaven itself, should it threaten to fall upon us!" This wanton and impious boast received a terrible atonement at Nicopolis, a few days afterward. The christian warriors were routed by Bajazet — the noblest and bravest of them were dead, or prisoners. Sigismund himself scarcely escaped. The overthrow of Bajazet by Tamerlane, a still more powerful oriental warrior, prevented him from prosecuting his conquests in Hungary. For upward of two years a war of the most barbarous ferocity was carried on between them. At length Tamerlane captured Bajazet, and exhibited him, say the old chronicles, in an iron cage, against the bars of which, in rage and despair, he beat out his brains.

Sigismund died in 1437, leaving no male heir, and for a brief period Maria's authority was again acknowledged. Albert, archduke of Austria, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of Sigismund, was elected king after the death of Maria. The same year he died on his retreat from a disastrous expedition against the Turks. His son, Ladislas, was not born until after his father's death. Elizabeth was anxious to secure the crown for the infant, but the Hungarians, disliking a regency, elected Uladislaus, of Poland, a descendant of the illustrious Louis.

Eight years afterward Uladislaus fell in a battle with the Turks, and Ladislas, the son of Albert of Austria, was chosen king. During his minority, John Hunyadi, the most distinguished man of the time, was appointed governor of Hungary. A popular tradition

represents him as being the son of Sigismund. As the latter was passing through Transylvania, on his way to subdue his rebel vassal, the woiwode of Wallachia, chance threw in his way a beautiful Wallach girl, Elizabeth Marsinai, the pride of the valley of Hatsag. Without disclosing his rank, the gay monarch triumphed over the affections of the simple peasant, and as he left her to prosecute his wars, he gave her his signet ring, with the injunction that when the fruit of their love should see the light, she should carry it to the king in Buda, who, on recognizing the ring, would be sure to treat her and her child with kindness. The following year, as Elizabeth was carrying the infant to the distant capital, the young mother, overcome by fatigue, fell asleep under the shade of a tree. The child in the mean time played with the ring which hung like an amulet around its neck. A mischievous daw seized the bauble in its beak and flew away. Awakened by the child's cries, Elizabeth saw, with horror, all her hopes of greatness depending on the actions of a bird. Her brother, her companion and protector in her long journey, was a keen sportsman, and an arrow from his bow brought the cause of her sorrows to the ground. The ring was recovered, and the little party resumed their way: and when they reached their destination, and recounted their adventures, the delighted monarch could scarcely testify his happiness. He at once bestowed upon his son the name of Hunyadi, and presented him with the town of Hunyadi and sixty surrounding villages. The surname of Corvinus, later adopted, with the arms, a crow and a ring, were assumed in memory of the events of this journey

Szonakos, the village which gave birth to Elizabeth, was declared tax-free forever; a right which it still enjoys.

The name of Hunyadi was destined to eclipse even that of his royal father. Brought up amidst the wars, to which the state of the times, and the increasing boldness and power of the Turks gave rise, Hunyadi found himself called on at an early age to protect Transylvania, over which he had been made woiwode, from the inroads of the barbarians. In the reign of Sigismund, the Turks had, for the first time, ventured across the boundaries of Hungary, and already had the southern parts of Transylvania been rendered scarcely habitable, so frequent and so fierce had their attacks become. After the death of Albert, and before the succession had been determined on, Hunyadi gained a series of glorious victories over the Moslems, following them through Wallachia, and across the Danube into Bulgaria, and obliging them to yield up the fortresses of Servia and Bosnia, thus placing those countries under the vassalage of Hungary. The sultan himself proposed a treaty, and acknowledged the supremacy of Hungary over the Danubian provinces. An armistice, to continue ten years, was agreed upon. When, however, the tidings spread that the Turkish emperor was engaged in quelling an insurrection in Asia Minor, and that various powers were prepared to attack the Turks, the pope called upon Hungary to take up arms. Against the solicitations of Hunyadi, the king consented, the pope's legate having convinced him, by a miserable sophism of the Romish church, that it is not to be kept with heretics; and he violated

his solemn engagement by recommencing an unprovoked war against the Moslems. The allies of Hungary refused to engage in the contest. The sultan, having restored quiet in his Asiatic dominions, turned his entire forces toward Hungary. To inflame his warriors, he carried the violated treaty, as a banner, a the head of his army. The Hungarians were utterly put to rout, the false Uladislaus was slain, and Hunyadi barely effected his escape.

During the minority of Ladislas Posthumus, Hunyadi, who was regarded as the hero of Christendom, and who, at the head of a large army, and surrounded by powerful friends, might easily have wrested the scepter from the feeble hands that held it, never attempted to grasp greater authority than the assembled people had delegated to him.

The Turks, who had been rapidly gaining strength by their conquests in Asia, undertook another foray against Europe. Once more Hunyadi, the ablest commander of the age, took the field, and but for him it is exceedingly probable that the Turks would have swept over the whole of Europe, as so many of their eastern predecessors had already done, and instead of being only on the outskirts, as they now are, might have established themselves in the very center. However, their career of victory was checked, and their thoughts of conquest turned in another direction. Although they afterward gained a temporary footing in Hungary, the confidence inspired by Hunyadi's victories, enabled the Magyars to make head against them, and finally to expel them from the land.

On the field of St. Imre, where Hunyadi gained one

of his most decisive victories, in fulfillment of a vow to St. Michael, he erected a cathedral, still standing, in which he and many succeeding Transylvanian princes and heroes were buried. In that battle especial orders had been given the Turkish knights to seek out and destroy Hunyadi, who was distinguished by his white plume and brilliant armor. This news having been reported to the Hungarians, Kemeny, a distinguished officer, assumed the armor of his chief, and nobly devoted himself to a certain death, to save his country the loss of her great general.

Hunyadi left two sons, Ladislas and Matthias. The former was commander of Belgrade, the border fortress of the kingdom,—a fortress which had been won from the Turks by his father, and in the victorious defense of which Hunyadi was slain. Ladislas Posthumus, the king, whose crown had been upheld by Hunyadi, was jealous of the great commander's son, who, although quite young, had highly distinguished himself by his exploits. He went to Belgrade, accompanied by German troops, to take the command of the castle from Ladislas. The king and his retinue were admitted into the fortress, but the gates were shut against the Germans, in accordance with an ancient custom, which forbade a border fortress to be occupied by a foreign garrison. The king saw that Ladislas was safe in the midst of his warriors, and therefore as he could not destroy him openly, resolved on his assassination. To effect this, Cilly, one of the courtiers, began an angry discussion with Ladislas, and, as if overpowered by passion, attempted to strike him down. But a ring on the finger of the young hero

averted the blow, and the assassin was slain. Ladislas communicated the fatal tidings to the king, and entreated forgiveness, which was granted with apparent cordiality ; but the mother of Ladislas, appreciating the monarch's inherited character, did not rest until, in sacred token of sincere pardon, the king received the sacrament and divided the consecrated wafer with her son.

The perfidious king concealed, but did not abandon, his deadly designs against Ladislas, and he quickly formed another plan to accomplish his purpose. Pretending to be desirous of terminating the inveterate feud between the Hunyadis and the Garas — the Hungarian Montagus and Capulets — he arranged a marriage between Ladislas and Mary Gara. Splendid tournaments and magnificent festivals were to precede the nuptials ; and both the sons of Hunyadi appeared at Buda, contrary to the express injunction of their father, that they should never stay together in the same place ; for he was conscious that his name and popularity would prove a dangerous heritage. Scarcely had they entered Buda before they were arrested by order of the king, and thrown into prison. Matthias, the younger brother, fortunately escaped, but Ladislas, without a trial, was doomed to death. Clad in bridal garments, he marched to the place of execution ; but so overpowering was the consternation and the sympathy for the young hero, that even the executioner's bloody hand trembled, and after striking three blows, he had not severed the head from the body. Summoning his remaining strength, Ladislas exclaimed : "In accordance with my country's customs, I am free.

After the third stroke, the executioner has no power over me." The assembled multitude were preparing to accompany him home in triumph, but exhausted by the loss of blood, he fell to the ground, and the executioner completed his cruel work. A few months after, the king died suddenly at Prague, the day before he was to be united to a French princess. It was the popular belief that he had been poisoned by a mistress who ate an apple with him which she had cut with a knife poisoned on one side.

Matthias Corvinus, second son of Hunyadi, was elected king in 1458, when but sixteen years of age. He was the first king of Hungary in whose veins the blood of Arpad did not run. Elevated to that station by a people who held his father's services in grateful remembrance, his subsequent life proved that he was not undeserving the confidence of the country. He was undoubtedly the ablest king that ever sat upon the throne of Hungary. He knew so well how to maintain and adorn his exalted position, that he would seem one of those rare instances in the history of the world, where fortune has awarded a crown to one whom nature has formed to wear it worthily. Imitating the example of his glorious father, he fought gallantly and victoriously against the Turks who undertook to ravage the southern provinces of his kingdom. He defended the dignity and independence of the nation against the arrogant assumptions of the Roman pontiff. He routed the robber hordes of Bohemia. Domestic conspiracies and civil wars, as well as foreign plots and hostile invasions, were alike unavailing. Feared by his nobles, and loved by his peasants,

he overcame by arms or by diplomacy all his enemies. The most dangerous of his foes was Frederick III., emperor of Austria,—a monarch selfish, unscrupulous, revengeful, and untiring; equally ready to give pledges when driven to extremities, and to violate them when he could do it safely. When Matthias was elevated to the throne, he put forth a claim to it. A war ensued, in which the Austrians found themselves unable to resist the Hungarian horsemen. After Matthias had conquered the most of his cities, Frederick consented to a peace, which he broke as soon as he considered himself strong enough to enter upon a successful war. Matthias again overrun Austria, and, in 1485, besieged and conquered the city of Vienna. Five years afterward he was poisoned in the imperial palace of the Hapsburgs. Bitterly was his death lamented by the Hungarian peasantry. "*Meg holt Mattyas, mult az igazsag!*"—Matthias is dead, and justice gone—is still a common proverb among the people when they endure oppression.

Notwithstanding the wars in which he was engaged, Matthias did much for the advancement of science and civilization. He filled his court with the learned men and philosophers of all nations, and founded several universities and colleges. His dearest treasure was his library at Buda, containing 50,000 volumes of books and manuscripts, richly bound and illustrated by the greatest artists of the time. Copyists were maintained in all parts of Europe to transcribe manuscripts. In 1666, when the Turks occupied Buda, the barbarians used the books to light the fires in their baths. After they finally evacuated the place only three or

four hundred dusty volumes were found hid in a cellar.

One of the most powerful chieftains, during the reign of Matthias, was Stephen Zapolya, who had possession of the castle of Trensín. Placed on the summit of rocks, it had no supply of water except that afforded by cisterns. To Zapolya this deficiency in his favorite castle was a source of deep disappointment, for which no one had been able to propose an effectual remedy. Musing one day on this subject, he was aroused by the announcement that a Turkish merchant had arrived, who wished to treat with him for the ransom of some prisoners whom he had captured in the wars. As a soldier, alive to the courtesies of war, Zapolya at once expressed his willingness to take ransom for all such as still remained in his hands. "As for those I have given my followers," said he, "they are no longer in my power, any more than the young girl that my wife has chosen for her handmaiden. For the former you must treat with their present masters; for the latter, she has become such a favorite with her mistress, that I am sure no sum would ransom her." "But may I not see this maiden?" anxiously demanded the young Turk. "Fatime!" and "Omar," burst at the same moment from their lips as they rushed into each other's arms. Fatime, it appeared, was the daughter of a pacha, and the affianced bride of Omar, who lost her on the night when Zapolya had attacked the Turkish camp; and her lover, disguised as a merchant, had undertaken this journey in search of her. Enraged at the Turk's presumption, and deaf alike to the entreaties and large offers of the

lover, he positively refused to deprive his wife of an attendant she liked. In vain Omar supplicated—in vain he threw himself at the feet of Zapolya. At last, enraged by his perseverance, the haughty lord swore he might more easily obtain water from the rock they stood on, than compliance from him. “Try,” said he in scorn, and when the rock yields water to your prayers, I give up Fatime, but not till then.” “On your honor,” exclaimed Omar, springing to his feet, “you give up Fatime if I obtain water from this rock?” “If you do,” said the knight, astonished that the Turk should have understood him literally, “I pledge you my knightly word to release your mistress and all my prisoners ransom free.” What is impossible to youth and love? Omar, aided by the captive Turks, worked long and patiently at the unyielding stone. Three wearisome years were passed, and they saw themselves apparently as far from success as at the commencement. When almost exhausted with fatigue and despair, the joyful cry of “Water! water!” burst from their lips. The spring was found — Fatime was free! The well which had been sunk four hundred and fifty feet through the solid rock, by the energy of true love, is still in use.

The Hungarian nobility, weary of the severe justice of Matthias Corvinus, received the intelligence of his death with exultation. They determined, as Matthias had no legitimate heirs, to elect a monarch whom they would be able to control. Uladislaus, king of Bohemia, was their choice. He was a good-natured, liberal, inefficient man, indifferent to affairs of state, and divided his time between the pleasures of society and

the excitement of the chase. The reign of Uladislaus II. was another illustration of the fact that a man may be respectable in private, but despicable in public life. He was too imbecile to appreciate his responsibilities or understand his duties, and too feeble to suppress tumults or enforce measures essential to the welfare of the state. The overbearing aristocracy oppressed the lower classes, and the prodigality of the king embarrassed the finances. There was no man in the kingdom capable of maintaining the ancient martial renown of Hungary. Several provinces were lost by misgovernment, and discontent was felt throughout the kingdom.

Still further calamities were ushered in by Archbishop Bakats, the pope's legate, who, like a second Peter the Hermit, endeavored to inflame Hungary by preaching another crusade. The call was unheeded by the nobles. Among the ignorant and discontented peasantry, however, with whom the desire of escape from servitude, and the anticipation of plunder, may have had influence, his success was greater, and in a short time his banners waved over an army of forty thousand men. A suspicion was entertained that Bakats was more governed by political than religious motives. His excessively ambitious character, the opposition he had met with from the higher nobles, the exciting harangues of the Roman clergy, and above all, the choice of George Dosa, a common soldier, to head the vast multitude, afforded strong ground for the suspicion. As soon as the army was fully equipped and ready to march, Dosa declared war against the nobles. The peasantry, predisposed by the oppressions they had

suffered since the death of Matthias, and encouraged by the miserable weakness of his successor, having now thrown off all restraint, and become excited by the promises of their leaders, were ready enough to seize an opportunity of avenging their wrongs, and achieving their liberty. Dosa maintained the field against the Hungarian nobles for nearly six months, during which four hundred of them fell victims to the popular vengeance. Dosa was at last taken prisoner and his army completely destroyed. If the peasants had been guilty of excessive barbarity the nobles were no less so. Not content with the slaughter of seventy thousand peasants, many of them women and children, it was determined to execute their leader in a manner which should strike terror into all future generations of peasants; and the inventive cruelty of a cruel age was taxed for its worst tortures. Dosa was seated on a throne of red-hot iron, a red-hot crown was placed upon his head, and a red-hot scepter in his hand. Forty of his captains had been confined without food for a fortnight: nine of them still survived, and they were brought before their tortured leader and commanded to feed upon his living flesh. Some hesitated, and were slain, while the rest tore the flesh from his bones and devoured it greedily. "To it, hounds, ye are of my own training!" was the only remark which escaped the lips of the suffering Dosa, and that remark fully illustrates the terrible character of the man. The Diet, which assembled soon after the insurrection, punished the peasantry by condemning them to servitude and depriving them of all political rights.

Overborne by misfortunes, Ladislaus II. became a

prey to melancholy. How to establish and protect the authority of his children, became his absorbing care. To this end he formed an alliance with Maximilian of Austria, which resulted in the marriage of the emperor's children, Ferdinand and Maria, with the son and daughter of Ladislaus. For three hundred years Hungary has had occasion to mourn over this arrangement, for it resulted in the transfer of the Hungarian crown to the Hapsburg family.

The treaty gave great dissatisfaction to the Hungarians, and they assembled on the field of Rakos for consultation in regard to it. The field of Rakos is a sandy plain around Pesth, and is the theater of many of the most important transactions in the annals of Hungary. During the sessions of the constitutional Diet, and while the king and high nobility deliberated in the castle of Buda, the lower nobility, and large numbers of the middle classes, used to assemble in council on the field of Rakos, armed and mounted for war; and in truth, war, and among themselves, too, was not unfrequently the termination of their discussions. The memory of the first of these unorganized and irregular Diets, in 1298, is held dear by all Hungarians, for it was the first occasion on which the lower nobles, the gentry of Hungary, attempted to control the policy of the state. It was, in fact, the era from which their present political constitution may be said to date. It had its origin in a cunning trick of an ambitious but patriotic archbishop, who, discontented with the influence exercised by the great barons of the kingdom, persuaded the king to call together the whole body of the nobles, whose numbers were sufficient to

overawe the powerful oligarchy which opposed him. Many important resolutions, in which the interests of the king, the lesser nobles, and more especially the clergy, were well cared for, and by which the barons were restricted in the exercise of their almost regal power, were passed at the suggestion of the archbishop ; and the council of barons, by whom the kingdom had been governed up to this time, felt constrained to adopt them. Although there was no recognition of the right of the lower nobles to share in the legislation, their consultations were frequent and their influence great. It was especially in times of discord that the political power of this class was most distinctly felt. It happened not unfrequently that these stormy assemblies secured the person of the king or his councilors, and obliged them to yield to the popular demands. Sometimes their dissolution was the signal for civil war ; sometimes they invested the royal castle and forced the compliance of the crown with their wishes, by starvation ; sometimes with boisterous loyalty they declared themselves ready to die for their king and country, and with freshened zeal rushed from the council to the battle field. It must have been a spirit-stirring sight when those hordes of armed men encamped on this vast plain, to discuss the laws and interests of the nation, and ready to defend, in case of need, what they believed to be their right. Their white tents, stretched along the plain as far as the eye could reach, their burnished arms flashing in the sun, and the sounds of martial music floating in the air, doubtless had often a wholesome influence on the deliberations in the castle overlooking the field of Rakos. Like

most eastern nations, the Magyars have much calmness in council, but they have also that strange susceptibility to excitement, which changes in a moment from the tranquillity of deliberation to the wildest outbreaks of enthusiasm. It is not wonderful that history has given to these assemblies a character of more importance than they really deserve; for here, as everywhere else, in the hasty consultations of a purely popular assembly, artful men may procure action, by arousing the passions, which would not be yielded by careful judgment. The errors they may have committed are forgotten in admiration of the indomitable love of freedom and desire for justice which prompted them.

Again the nobility of Hungary met on the field of Rakos, when they heard of the alliance between Uladislaus and Maximilian. "Away with the Germans, they corrupt our king!" burst from many lips, as they thought of the plotters who had brought about the alliance. The Diet pledged their oaths that they would never call to the throne, a foreigner who was ignorant of the language, customs and laws of Hungary. They said — "If our present lord and king, Uladislaus II., who not only left us in our rights and liberties, but who also renewed and extended them, were to depart this life without leaving male issue, we all, from the highest to the lowest, agree and decree, that from this time forward, to all times to come, whenever the Hungarian throne shall be orphaned, and without a male person, who should be legally entitled to the succession, we will not elect any foreign prince, no matter of what people or tongue such prince may be, but that we will always make an election on the Rakos field, and elect a Hun-

garian who is fit and proper for the throne, and will appoint him to be king and lord of Hungary." This resolution was confirmed by an oath. They enacted that any man who should propose a foreign prince to the Hungarian throne, should be guilty of treason, and condemned to perpetual servitude, even so that neither the Diet nor the elected king should have it in their power to show him grace. The bill was received by the assembly on the field of Rakos, with loud cheers and shouts of defiance against the enemies of the kingdom. Copies of it were sent to all parts of the country. No resolution of the Hungarian Diet was ever enacted in so solemn, impressive, and unanimous a manner.

Uladislaus II. died in 1516, soon after concluding his treaty of mutual succession with Maximilian, and before any arrangement had been made with the magnates who had declared they would not be bound by the league. His son Louis, then a minor, assumed the scepter. Three years afterward, Maximilian died, and was succeeded by his illustrious grandson, Charles V. The alliance of their predecessors had been confirmed by the marriage of Charles V. with the sister of Louis II., while the latter had espoused Maria, the imperious sister of Charles. The weak and frivolous king of Hungary was entirely under the influence of his haughty and talented wife. She urged him to disregard the authority of the Diet, and on one occasion took a pen and drew a line through a resolution authorizing a committee to inquire into the application of the public money, and adding a marginal note: "Unus rex, unus princeps"—returned the document to the Diet.

While the power of the kingdom was thus weakened by internal feuds, Solyman the Magnificent, emperor of the Turks, entered Hungary and made himself master of Belgrade, the strongest fortress on the Hungarian frontier. In 1526 Louis II. took the field against Solyman. The two armies met on the plain of Mohacs. Though mowed down in squadrons by the cannon of the Turks, the brave Hungarians fought with a fatal determination, and the battle ended only when there were no more Hungarians to continue it. Seven bishops, five hundred nobles, and twenty-two thousand soldiers, out of an army of but twenty-five thousand, testified by their death on that battle field to the indomitable courage of the Hungarians. The king was accidentally drowned while flying from the bloody conflict.

CHAPTER III.

THE AUSTRIAN KINGS.

HUNGARY was without a king. Louis II. had died childless. Maria, without waiting for the interment of her royal husband, hastened to the Austrian frontier, and began to intrigue for the election of her brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, to the vacant throne. But Ferdinand's pretensions were disregarded by the Diet, who unanimously elected John Zapolya, the woiwode of Transylvania, and commander of the Hungarian army. Ferdinand, thus defeated, assembled his party at Presburg. It consisted chiefly of the families of the queen dowager, and of some Hungarian magnates, who had been bribed by Austrian gold. Ferdinand of Hapsburg was requested to sign the act of coronation, and having done so, he was proclaimed king of Hungary. He immediately addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the kingdom. He said :

“Let no man believe that we desire, by the fear and the troubles of war, to exact obedience and loyalty. We, as it behoves a good, pious and christian king to do, intend not to enter upon our government in Hungary without the good-will and the love of our liege subjects. But we mean earnestly and mightily to move our hands, so that Belgrade and the other border fortresses be freed from the enemy; and that, protected from Mahometan usurpers and spoilers, you

may peacefully and tranquilly enjoy your rights and liberties. And we exhort you to be most surely convinced that we mean to use the noble, and for the christian commonwealth, highly deserving, Hungarian nation, and your language, after our best powers and affordings ; and that the prelates, counts, barons, knights, and all other nobles, whatever their names or denominations may be, and the free cities, and all other estates of the Hungarian kingdom, shall be upheld in all and any of their liberties, privileges, lordships, laws, rights, and properties ; and that they shall find protection in them as aforesaid ; and likewise that we will not employ the service of any foreigners, in administering the affairs of Hungary ; nor shall any benefices, offices, and escheats, be given to the said foreigners, so that you shall never have cause to fear any danger in your possessions, properties, rights, and persons. But from out of our great love and affection for you, we advise you earnestly to be intent on providing all various kinds of provisions ; in return for which, we mean to instruct and recommend our captains and men at arms, whom we intend to send speedily to Hungary, and to the frontiers, against the Turks and disturbers of the peace within the Hungarian kingdom, that they shall not harm you in your properties, but shall obtain their supplies in consideration of moderate payments," etc.

The estates of the country, assembled in parliament at Buda, promptly and nobly replied : " That they could not understand by what right or by whose advice the emperor Ferdinand dared to call himself their king, and address them as his subjects. That he (the

emperor) had been disgracefully deceived by some Hungarians, who had become the enemies of their country, and who, forgetful of their honor and their duty, were now leading the life of vagrants in and around Presburg. That they would never consent to accept and recognize Ferdinand as their king, inasmuch as it was John who was their king, whom they had elected and crowned. Nor should fate, chance and misfortune, ever separate them from their rightful sovereign. And further, that his (Ferdinand's) appeal to his pretended hereditary right was vain; that the Hungarian kingdom, free, tributary to none, subject to no foreign prince, could not be obtained by marriage, nor could any of their crowned kings, in contempt of their public liberties, promise to grant the same in hereditary succession to living man; not to mention the immutable law which excluded foreign princes from the throne. They therefore exhorted and entreated him that he should, for the future, eschew the title of 'King of Hungary;' that he should not call them his subjects, nor presume to arrogate to himself any jurisdiction within their territories. But if he wished to live in amity with John, their king, and league with him against the arch enemy of Christendom, they would gladly hope that his most gracious majesty, John, king of Hungary, would be willing and prepared for all friendly services."

The war of succession between the rival kings continued eleven years. During that period the country was drenched with blood. Each claimant to the crown demeaned himself, and compromised the dignity of the kingdom, by applying for aid to the sultan of the

Turks, and offering to pay him a yearly tribute for his influence. Solyman accepted the proposals of Zapolya, and on several occasions drove Ferdinand into Austria, and once besieged Vienna. In 1538 a treaty was concluded between Zapolya and Ferdinand, by the conditions of which, the one was to be recognized as king over Transylvania and the eastern portion of Hungary, while the other was to reign over the western part of the kingdom.

The fierce war which the Hungarians had carried on, to defend their throne against the pretensions of Ferdinand, had weakened their power to repel the invasions of the Turks. His claims were recognized only when it was thought no other way was left to save Hungary from ruin. But Ferdinand was entirely unmindful of his promises. So great was his neglect of Hungarian affairs, that, nine years after his coronation, the Diet found it necessary to draw up a long list of their grievances. In their remonstrance they declared that the king's absence from the country was the chief cause of the evils of which they complained. Hence the irruptions of the Turks — hence the atrocious cruelties practiced by petty tyrants within the confines of the country — and hence the insufferable extortions of the king's foreign captains, who, instead of protecting the country, exhausted its resources, and betrayed it into the hands of its enemies.

John Zapolya died in 1540, when his son, John Sigismund, was yet an infant in the cradle. Ferdinand attempted to take advantage of this circumstance in order to repossess himself of the whole kingdom; but his ambition was disappointed by the activity and

address of Martinuzzi, bishop of Warardin, who shared the regency with the queen. Sensible of his inability to oppose Ferdinand in the field, Martinuzzi satisfied himself with holding out the fortified towns, all of which he provided with every thing necessary for defense; and he at the same time sent ambassadors to Solyman, beseeching him to extend toward the son, that imperial protection which had so generously maintained the father on the throne. Ferdinand used his utmost endeavors, though ineffectually, to thwart this negotiation. The sultan saw such advantages from espousing the interest of the young king, that he instantly marched into Hungary, and defeated Ferdinand, with great slaughter, at Buda.

Martinuzzi, while willing to receive aid from the Turks to establish John Sigismund on the throne of Transylvania, by no means contemplated making that state a province of the Ottoman empire. When he saw that such was the purpose of the young king's mother, he offered to aid Ferdinand in obtaining possession of the throne, and to assist in expelling the Turks. The queen-mother not being able to obtain the immediate or effectual assistance that the exigency required, was obliged to listen to such conditions as she would at any other time have rejected with disdain. She agreed to give up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her son's claim to the crown of Hungary, in exchange for a principality in Silesia. Martinuzzi, as a reward for his services, was appointed governor of Transylvania, with almost unlimited authority; and he proved himself worthy of it. He conducted the war against the Turks with equal

avility and success ; he recovered possession of many places held by them ; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive ; and he established the dominion of Ferdinand, not only in Transylvania, but in several of the adjacent countries. Always, however, afraid of the talents of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand now became jealous of his power, and with the cruelty characteristic of his perfidious race, resolved on the destruction of one who had given strength to his crown and peace to his kingdom. In compliance with his mandate Martinuzzi was assassinated. But Ferdinand, instead of the security which he expected from that barbarous measure, found his Hungarian dominions more certainly exposed to danger. The nobles, detesting his policy, either retired to their own estates, or grew cold in the service, if they continued with the army ; the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose activity and ability they dreaded, prepared to resume hostilities with fresh vigor ; and John Sigismund wrested the scepter of Transylvania from his enfeebled grasp.

Ferdinand died in 1564, leaving his son, Maximilian, heir not only to his throne but to his quarrels with John Sigismund and with the Turks. The history of his reign is entirely a record of misgovernment and of bloody but not decisive warfare. The most important battle was at Sziget. Solyman, whose valor and ambition had been long terrible to Christendom, though too old and infirm to take the field in person, continued to make war by his generals. He determined on the complete subjugation not only of Hungary but of the German empire. He invaded Hungary, in 1566, with

a powerful army, and besieged Sziget, the bulwark of Stiria, against the Turks. It had a garrison of but two thousand three hundred men, under the brave count Zriny, the worthy ancestor of a family distinguished in the annals of Hungary for their ardent love of liberty, and unyielding opposition to the progress of Austrian despotism. Zriny defended the city, with incredible valor, for a long time, against the whole force of the sultan. Although Maximilian was in the neighborhood, with an army equal to that of the besiegers, he did not dare attempt the relief of the city. Zriny drove back the enemy in no less than twenty attempts to storm the castle. Sixty thousand of the Turkish forces were slain. But the foe without the fortress was assisted by a foe within. It was famine. Unable longer to defend the place, and determined not to yield, Zriny and three hundred of his men—all that were living—rushed out on the Turks and fell fighting to the last. This heroic resistance so far weakened the Turkish army, that they were obliged to retire without attempting any further invasion.

Rodolph, son of Maximilian, reigned in Hungary from 1574 to 1608. He devoted most of his time to the study of astronomy and astrology, and from his neglect, rather than from despotic tendencies in the king, the people suffered grievous oppressions. From a description of the army, given in the diary of an officer of that period, it is not difficult to judge how all departments of the administration were managed : “Archduke Matthias (the king’s brother) was the commanding general ; such a good-natured man, that he punished no one in the camp, and did justice to no

one ; in consequence there were innumerable rows and disturbances. The camp was so full of immorality and drinking, of banqueting and trading, and of courtly splendor, that it was an abomination not only in the sight of God, but even before sinful man. The chiefs sat down to table at ten o'clock, and rose drunk at four or five ; one went to sleep, another to take a stroll. The soldiers ravaged all the towns and villages for many miles around ; they drove off the cattle of the peasants without paying for them, and cut down the crops to feed their horses. The military counselor of war is a drunkard, and with him are two German captains who were never in battle and never saw a Turk." No effective military achievement could be expected from such an army. Victories were turned into defeat by insubordination among the troops.

The political condition of the country was deplorable. The complaints of the Diet were unheeded. The Protestants were systematically opposed ; the Jesuits, supported by the German generals, converted the people by force. Protestant clergymen were driven from the country, and their churches were occupied by the minions of the pope. While Rodolph lived, Matthias professed to be a friend of the Reformation, and the champion of full liberty of conscience ; but when, in 1608, he succeeded his brother on the throne, he favored the Roman Catholic church, and labored to extirpate Protestantism from the kingdom. For two years religious persecution was added to the political sufferings of the Hungarians, whose love of civil liberty was only equaled by their desire for religious freedom.

About the year 1610, Elizabeth Bathori, sister to the

king of Poland, and wife of a rich and powerful Hungarian magnate, was the principal actor in the most singular and horrible tragedy mentioned in history. She occupied the castle of Csejta, in Transylvania. Like most other ladies of that period, she was surrounded by a troop of young girls, generally the daughters of poor but noble parents, who lived in honorable servitude; in return for which, their education was cared for, and their dowry secured. Elizabeth was of a severe and cruel disposition, and her hand-maidens led no joyous life. Slight faults are said to have been punished by most merciless tortures. One day, as the lady of Csejta was admiring at a mirror those charms which that faithful monitor told her were fast waning, she gave way to her ungovernable temper, excited, perhaps, by the mirror's unwelcome hint, and struck her unoffending maid with such force in the face as to draw blood. As she washed from her hands the stain, she fancied the part which the blood had touched grew whiter, softer, and, as it were, younger. Imbued with the credulity of the age, she believed she had discovered what so many philosophers had wasted years in seeking for. She supposed that in a virgin's blood she had found the *elixir vitæ*, the fountain of never-failing youth and beauty. Remorseless by nature, and now urged on by irrepressible vanity, the thought no sooner flashed across her brain than her resolution was taken: the life of her luckless hand-maiden was not to be compared with the precious boon her death promised to secure. Elizabeth, however, was wary as well as cruel. At the foot of the rock on which Csejta stood, was a small cottage, inhabited

by two old women; and between the cellar of this cottage and the castle was a subterranean passage, known only to one or two persons, and never used but in times of danger. With the aid of these old crones and her steward, Elizabeth led the poor girl through the secret passage to the cottage, and after murdering her, bathed in her blood. Not satisfied with the first essay, at different intervals, by the aid of these accomplices, and the secret passage, no less than three hundred maidens were sacrificed on the altar of vanity and superstition. Several years had been occupied in this pitiless slaughter, and no suspicion of the truth was excited, though the greatest amazement pervaded the country at the disappearance of so many persons. At last, however, Elizabeth called into play against her, two passions, even stronger than vanity and cunning. Love and revenge became interested in the discovery of the mystery. Among the victims of Csejta was a beautiful virgin, who was beloved by, and betrothed to, a young man of the neighborhood. In despair at the loss of his mistress, he followed her traces with such perseverance, that, in spite of the hitherto successful caution of the murderess, he penetrated the bloody secrets of the castle, and, burning for revenge, flew to Presburg, boldly accused Elizabeth Bathori of murder, before the palatine, in open court, and demanded judgment against her. So grave an accusation, brought against a person of such high rank, demanded the most serious attention, and the palatine undertook to investigate the affair in person. Proceeding immediately to Csejta, before the murderess or her accomplices had any idea of the accusa-

tion, he discovered the still warm body of a young girl, whom they had been destroying as the palatine approached, and had not time to dispose of before he apprehended them. The rank of Elizabeth mitigated her punishment to imprisonment for life, but her assistants were burned at the stake. Legal documents still exist to attest the truth of this apparently improbable circumstance. Paget, a distinguished English traveler, who visited Csejta about twenty years ago, says: "With this tale fresh in our minds, we ascended the long hill, gained the castle, and wandered over its deserted ruins. The shades of evening were just spreading over the valley, the bare, gray walls stood up against the red sky, the solemn stillness of evening reigned over the scene, and as two ravens, which had made their nests on the castle's highest towers, came toward it, winging their heavy flight, and wheeling once round, each cawing a hoarse welcome to the other, alighted on their favorite turret, I could have fancied them the spirits of the two crones, condemned to haunt the scene of their former crimes, while their infernal mistress was cursed by some more wretched doom."

Mingled with the truthful tales of terror which are told of the castles in Hungary, are many popular legends of a fabulous character. Betzko, a fortress near Csejta, has also its story of wonder, though less exciting and by no means so authentic as that of Csejta. Placed on the frontiers of Poland and Bohemia, it was a point of great importance in the wars which constantly raged between the governments or the individual nobles of the neighboring countries. It is said to owe its name and origin to a fool. Stibor, a Polish

knight of great bravery, who had done good service in the cause of Hungary, received from Sigismund, large gifts of lands and castles. In one of those intervals of peace which left the knights of the middle ages without their wonted occupation and excitement, Stibor was one day trying to while away his idle hours in the company of his household, when Betzko, his favorite jester, succeeded so happily in his sallies of wit, that his delighted master offered him a wish. "Build a castle on that great rock, and give it to me." "Truly a fool's wish, to ask an impossibility," exclaimed those who stood round, in mockery of the jester's ambition. "Who says it is impossible?" cried the knight, "what Stibor wills, Stibor does. Within a year a castle shall be there, and Betzko shall be its name!" From every side, workmen crowded up the steep ascent, and one after another the rugged crags bore walls and towers. According to the rude law that might is right, all travelers who passed through the valley were stopped by Stibor's order, and their horses and servants made to afford a week's labor to the building. The year elapsed, and Stibor had kept his word, for the bare rock was crowned with as proud a castle as any in the land. But from the battlements of that castle, Stibor is said to have met his death. Enraged that a favorite hound had been injured by an old servant, he ordered the gray-headed man to be thrown from the rock, and he was dashed to pieces, as he muttered a curse on the cruel tyrant. Not long after, when Stibor had been feasting a great company of knights, and had retired to the beautiful gardens he had constructed with so much cost on the top of the rock, to sleep off the effects

of intoxication on the cool grass, an adder bit him in the eye. Blinded, and mad with pain, the wretched chieftain flew along the ramparts, regardless of the danger he incurred, till at the very spot where his servant had been thrown down, he fell over, and striking on the rock yet red with his victim's blood, met the death his cruelty had so well merited.

Matthias, being childless, procured the election of Ferdinand, his cousin, as his successor. Ferdinand II., the pupil and friend of the Jesuits, had, in the year 1600, at Loretto, made a vow to restore the Romish church to its ancient glory and power upon the ruins of Protestantism. With this intention, he kindled the bloodiest of wars; he considered every means justifiable to accomplish his purpose; cunning and cruelty, dissimulation and open force, the sword and the scaffold, were all used in the attainment of his object. He surrounded himself with learned and eloquent, but adroit and unscrupulous advisers. His ordinances everywhere aroused rebellion. The Protestants of Bohemia declared that he had forfeited the throne. Ferdinand marched into their country and defeated them. The work of slaughter continued, after the victory was gained. Many distinguished men were decapitated; thousands were thrown into prison; their property was confiscated and distributed among the king's Romish favorites; the constitution of Bohemia was abrogated, and Protestantism suppressed. In Hungary the protestants were more successful. Under the command of Bethlen Gabor, they were uniformly victorious. In 1620, Bethlen was elected king of Hungary, but although the great body of the people

approved the choice, he refused to be crowned. In 1622 he compelled Ferdinand, notwithstanding his vow at Loreto, to confirm the right of religious freedom to the Hungarians. A second and third time, when Ferdinand violated his pledges, Bethlen constrained him to renew them. Although twice chosen king, and in actual possession of the crown, this champion of Protestantism never placed it on his head, though it is probable he might have secured the throne. Although constantly engaged in war, it is a remarkable fact in the life of Bethlen, that he composed psalms which are still sang in the reformed churches of Transylvania. He was a staunch adherent of the doctrines of Calvin, a successful general, and a man of most determined resolution and untiring energy. His constant purpose was the banishment of the Jesuits, and the protection of the rights of Protestants in Hungary. The greatness of his designs, the fertility of his resources, his diplomatic skill, and the noble principle of religious liberty, for which he struggled, entitle him to the admiration and gratitude of all Protestants.

Ferdinand III. ascended the throne in 1636. He was less violent, though perhaps not less determined, in his endeavors to suppress religious freedom, than his predecessors. A warfare, though not so sanguinary in its character as during his father's reign, was maintained against the Protestants of Transylvania.

Murany, one of the most important fortresses in the possession of the Transylvanians, was lost in a manner characteristic of the age of chivalry. A castle of great strength, in the center of a country so often the seat of civil war, the name of Murany frequently occurs in

Hungarian history. At one time the Diet complains of it as a harbor for traitors and robbers; at another, a solemn decree of the nation indicates it as the safeguard of the kingdom, and appoints it as the place where the sacred crown of St. Stephen should be deposited. At this period it was in the hands of a woman. Maria, the lady of Murany, a young and beautiful widow, educated a strict Protestant, had little difficulty in choosing the party she should adopt; and readily admitted a detachment of Transylvanian troops to strengthen the garrison of her castle, but only on condition that she should retain the command. The ill-disciplined soldiery of Transylvania were easily conquered in the field, but as long as Murany protected their retreat, their entire subjection was almost hopeless. A strong body of troops under Wesselenyi were detached to besiege the castle. As Wesselenyi surveyed its natural and artificial defenses, he almost despaired of effecting its reduction; and, when he heard that Maria commanded the garrison, his despair was embittered by the thought that his hard-earned laurels might now be tarnished by defeat at the hands of a woman. All the arts of war were expended in vain against the huge mountain fortress; every attempt cost the blood of some of the king's best troops, and served only as amusement to the garrison. A protracted siege rarely improves the discipline of an army, and rumors of victories on the side of the enemy were not wanting to discourage the besiegers. Time, too, now pressed; and, as force was still evidently powerless against Murany, Wesselenyi at last determined to try what persuasion might effect on its

commandress. Disguising himself in the dress of an inferior officer, the general appeared before the gates as bearer of a flag of truce, to demand a parley with the mistress of the castle ; and cunningly did he talk of favorable conditions and royal rewards, but his opponent only laughed at his offers, as she had done at his threats. A good general, however, always finds out the weak points in his enemy's defenses ; and perhaps the eyes of Maria had expressed no displeasure at the handsome face and manly figure of the envoy, nor probably were the beauty and courage of the commandress without their influence on Wesselenyi's determination. Certain it is, that next day another trumpet summoned the garrison to a parley, and that this time the herald bore a letter offering the heart and hand of Wesselenyi to his beautiful enemy, to whom he confessed the *ruse* he had practiced, but vowed that love had taken ample revenge for his temerity. Caught with the romance, but determined to test its sincerity, Maria answered that if the writer's courage equaled his audacity, and he was willing to pursue the fortune he tempted, he might find, at midnight, a ladder against the northern tower, in which a light would be burning, and where, if he came alone, he might hear further of his suit. Wesselenyi was too good a knight to refuse the bidding of a "ladye fayre," hazardous though it might be. At midnight, and alone, he left his camp, and, gaining the summit of the rock, found the promised light in the northern tower. The ladder hung from an open window, and silently and cautiously did the lover gain the height : but no sooner had he sprung into the tower than he found himself suddenly seized

from behind, and dragged to the ground, while a body of armed men entered the chamber and bound him in chains. Blindfolded he was led forward he knew not whither, till a harsh voice commanding a halt, thus addressed the prisoner: "Sir Knight, strategy is fair in love as well as war; you have delivered yourself into the power of your enemies, and it is for them to dispose of you as they choose; but the commandress of the castle is inclined to mercy, and on condition of your deserting the cause of the king, she is willing not only to give you freedom, but to bestow herself and her vast possessions on you by marriage. In an hour I come to receive your answer—acceptance or death!" Rude as was the trial where love and life pleaded against loyalty and duty, the soldier withstood it manfully; and, at the hour's conclusion, returned only a sullen answer, "Better die than betray!" Scarce had the words passed his lips when the bandage fell from his eyes; Szecsi Maria stood before him, in all her beauty; a smile played around her mouth, and, extending her hand to the astonished Wesselenyi, she exclaimed, "Take it, noble Knight, and with it all I have, for thy constancy hath won my heart: keep up thy faith to me as well as thou hast done to thy king, and Maria will gladly acknowledge thee her conqueror."

The memory of Sophia Bosnyak, the second wife of Wesselenyi, is held by the peasants in almost sacred respect. This reverence is attributable, doubtless, to the fact that her body, from the nature of the soil in which it was interred, was preserved from decay, and is still exhibited in the church at Teplitz. Although uncanonized by the pope, it is regarded as the body

of a saint; is visited by numerous devoted pilgrims; and unquestionably performs as many miracles as any saint in the calendar. Sophia is described as one of those mild and loving wives whose deep affection can suffer in silence more easily than upbraid or resent, and Wesselenyi, as a bold warrior, whose manly beauty and rough virtues had completely won the soft heart of his at first unwilling bride. Often was the young wife left alone in the strong castle, to watch for the return of her lord from those wars in which the restless Turk kept Hungary so constantly engaged, and the conclusion of the campaign brought him back, the same true and tender husband as when he left. After some time, however, Sophia observed a change in her husband's manner, on his return from absences that became more frequent, and seemed less called for than formerly; till at last the rumor reached even her ears that Wesselenyi spent his time more agreeably than in combating the Turks—in short, that she had a rival in her husband's heart, and that on his next return he intended to change his religion and separate from her for life. Alarmed at this news, which her own observation but too well confirmed, the poor wife gave way to the bitterness of despair. One evening, when she had wept herself to sleep, thinking of her misfortunes, a bright vision appeared to her, which she at once recognized as that of Our Lady of Strečno, whose picture hung over the altar in the little chapel on the rock, and smiled consolation and peace on the stricken heart. When she awoke, she hastened with naked feet and pilgrim's staff, in spite of the darkness of the night, and the pitiless driving of a winter's storm, to

visit the chapel of the Virgin, and to render thanks to her protectress for the comfort she had sent her. Next morning saw Wesselenyi's return ; but the frown had left his brow, the cold look was no longer in his eyes, and as he pressed Sophia in his arms, she felt herself once more the loved, the happy wife. On the anniversary of that day, Sophia ever made her pilgrimage, barefoot and alone, to the shrine of her protectress, and after death she was buried in the little chapel on the rock.

The reign of Leopold I. continued from 1657 to 1705, and was a period of terror and oppression. An insurrection among the Protestants, who were openly persecuted, was used as a pretext to formally abrogate the Hungarian constitution. The odious inquisition was established. German generals, in company with Jesuit priests, traversed the country, despoiling the Protestants of their churches, expelling the clergy, and causing those who offered any resistance, to be hanged, drawn and quartered. Three hundred Protestant clergymen and schoolmasters were banished, without any legal proceedings. Seventy of them refused to yield to this arbitrary process, and demanded a regular trial, in order to prove their innocence ; but they were dispatched, unheard, to Sicily, and placed in the galleys.

No part of Hungary suffered more from persecution than that near the Carpathian mountains, for in no other portion of the country had the doctrines of the Reformation been maintained with such zeal. It had been peopled, in a great degree, in the fifteenth century, by the followers of Huss, when proscribed in

Bohemia, and in the sixteenth, by the followers of Luther, from Saxony. The blutsgricht, or court of blood, established by Caraffa, is still remembered with a shudder. With the head of a Jesuit, and the heart of an assassin, Caraffa undertook to suppress the Protestants by dint of terror ; and he carried on the work with ardent industry. By means of outrage and injustice the most flagrant, and the intolerable tortures to which he subjected his prisoners, he obtained a name never mentioned in Hungary without disgust.

Francis Rakotzy, the leader of the Transylvanian Protestants, after an adventurous life, sometimes on the point of ascending the throne of Hungary, and sometimes threatened with annihilation by the dissensions among his own friends, finally ended his troubled life, a fugitive in Turkey. "Pro patria et libertate," was the noble inscription on his coinage, and the guiding principle of his conduct. His mildness and justice, which would have made him an excellent ruler in peaceful times, appeared like weakness and indecision in that stormy period. The national air of Hungary — the "Yankee doodle" of the Magyars, was played by his soldiery, and bears his name. Helena, his widow, a worthy descendant of the Zriny who fell in the defense of Sziget, married Tokolyi, the leader of the Transylvanians after Rakotzy's death. Tokolyi was made a prisoner by the Turks, and for two years the heroic Helena defended the rock-fortress of Mukacs. When at length she surrendered the castle to the troops of Leopold, the latter shut her up in a nunnery ; but she afterward escaped and joined her husband in Turkey.

In 1683, another war was begun with the Turks. The sultan entered Hungary with the most formidable force that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom. The grand vizier marched along the Danube at the head of about fifty thousand janizaries, thirty thousand spahis, and over two hundred thousand common soldiers. The brave Hungarians, who had so often repelled the infidels, and tilled, with swords in their hands, a country watered by the blood of their ancestors, might have repelled the invaders if they had not been weakened in endeavoring to maintain their rights, in defiance of the aggressions of their Austrian kings. As it was, the imperial forces attempted in vain to oppose the progress of the Turks. Mustapha drove Leopold before him to Vienna. Most of the inhabitants followed the court, and nothing was to be seen, on either side, but fugitives and their baggage. The whole empire was thrown into consternation. Mustapha invested Vienna, and was about to enter the imperial city, when John Sobieski, king of Poland, hastened to the rescue. At the head of sixty-four thousand Poles, and an incredible number of German princes, he descended from the mountain of Calenberg, (from the top of which he had made a signal to the besieged, and inspired them with hope,) and advanced against the Turks. Seized with a panic they were easily put to rout. So great was their terror, and so precipitate their flight, that they abandoned not only their tents, artillery and baggage, but left behind them the sacred standard of Mahomet, which Sobieski sent to the pope, with the following letter: "I came, I saw, and God has conquered!" At a subsequent

battle, on the Theiss, twenty thousand Turks were left dead on the field, and ten thousand were drowned in the river, in endeavoring to avoid the fury of the sword. All their equipments and stores fell into the hands of the Austrian army. The aga of the janizaries, and twenty-seven bashaws, were found among the slain. The spirit of the Turks was broken, and they were finally expelled from Hungary.

Previous to the advent of the Hapsburgs, the kings of Hungary had, for two centuries, battled against the Turks gallantly, and usually with success, and though the power of Hungary had somewhat declined on the accession of Ferdinand I., the great territories of Hungary, Croatia and Transylvania remained unconquered, and the new dynasty obtained possession of an extensive kingdom wholly independent of the Turks.

But Ferdinand I., and his descendants, neglected the sacred duties of their office. They all pledged their words to reside in Hungary for a part of the year, but not one of them remained true to his word. Whenever the Hungarian nation expressed their wishes in this respect, they received evasive answers, based on the most futile pretenses : the command of the Hungarian troops was given to foreigners, to the signal detriment of the native generals, who were better versed in the ways and means of warfare against the Turks than the Austrian officers could be. When the house of Austria was a suitor for the Hungarian crown, great stress was laid on its hereditary power and the imperial dignity of its members, as giving a promise of an efficient protection against the Turks. But their reign in Hungary was a direct contradiction of their promises.

Large provinces were left to the Turks. For one hundred and forty-five years did the Crescent rule over more than one-half of the country. The chiefs of the malcontents in 1667, were fully justified in protesting, that —

“It was an open question, which was worse — Turkish or Austrian sovereignty. The Black sea and the Adriatic were at one time the confines of the kingdom of Hungary. Ever since the advent of the first Hapsburg, our power has decreased, and our frontiers have receded ; one hundred and forty years have sufficed to make Hungary a narrow strip of land, near the Carpathian and the Stirian mountains. The Danube, the Theiss, the Drave, and the Save, flow for the benefit of the Turks ; three-fourths of Hungary is tributary to them. It is better to make a voluntary surrender to the sultan, and to have liberty of conscience, such as Transylvania enjoys.”

The successful encroachments of the Turks were chiefly owing to the want of skill of the foreign generals ; to the venality of the foreign commanders in Hungarian fortresses ; to the cowardice of foreign hirelings ; to the dilatory measures of the king's council, and to treaties of peace which were concluded without the advice and consent of the Hungarian Diets. When the country was reconquered, the Hungarians took the post of danger in all battles and assaults. The perils and the victories were theirs.

The Hungarian nation has never known more inveterate enemies than the German generals and their men at arms, who oppressed and ill-used it, who drained its coffers, and who threatened to destroy its

national liberty. The most conspicuous among these foreign tyrants were Heister, Caraffa, Cob, and Strassoldo. Often, though vainly, did the Diets insist on the immediate removal of the foreign mercenaries; and frequently, though to no purpose, did they appeal to the fundamental statutes and treaties. Every remonstrance was defeated by a Vienna promise. At times a partial improvement took place, especially in seasons of danger for the Hapsburg family; but when the danger was over, the old rule of oppression commenced afresh. Such being the case, it is but natural that the Vienna cabinet should at all times have been eager to prevent the meeting of Diets, or to destroy their influence by the vilest intrigues, by corruption, and intimidation.

Under Ferdinand II., Rodolph, and Leopold, these evils had reached the worst stage. In the reign of Ferdinand, religious persecution was added to the list of Hungarian grievances. The principles of the Reformation were readily received throughout Hungary, but the Hapsburg princes sought to extirpate them at the stake and with the sword. The nation had not, therefore, any other resource but the dangerous means of armed resistance — an expedient which the *bullæ aureæ* legalized in the case of every individual Hungarian. The just indignation of an outraged, and all but despairing people, led to the fearful civil wars under the leadership of Bethlen Gabor and others.

The fundamental laws of Hungary were attacked; its rights and privileges were annihilated; the offices, emoluments, and honors of the kingdom were given to foreigners; the natives who resolved to leave the

country were robbed of their estates ; those who remained were doomed to hopeless poverty and slavery. But the causes of the insurrections, though essentially the same in all cases, assumed a more threatening aspect in every instance, until, under Leopold I., the purpose of the Vienna cabinet was avowedly "an extirpation of the Magyar race." Good sense and justice were in every instance found to triumph over the evil passions of the Hapsburg faction ; and so signal were the victories, that almost all the insurrections had a peaceable termination. Amnesties, indemnifications, and, in many instances, solemn treaties of peace, under the guarantee of foreign powers, were wrung from the reluctant grasp of the Austrians.

The despotic character of Leopold is well portrayed in a letter addressed, by his command, to the Hungarian Diet : "The duty of the magnates and nobles ought to be subjection ; that of the people, servitude. It is, therefore, a high crime and misdemeanor to inquire into the legality or illegality of the measures which it pleases the king to take, in a country which has been reduced by the just force of arms. You ought not to contradict—you ought not to oppose the will of the just, fortunate and glorious victor. Curious and impertinent inquiries into the alledged limits of the royal power, are hateful in the eyes of kings. The chiefs of the insurrection are at rest ; others are fugitives ; the fortresses are in the hands of faithful troops ; the king is surrounded by a large army, and the Turks have their hands full at home. There is no resisting the emperor's will," etc.

As soon as Leopold was again established in power,

ne resumed his arbitrary designs with regard to Hungary. The constitution was repeatedly violated, the Diet was not assembled, unusual taxes were imposed, the country was inundated with German troops, and the Protestants were incessantly persecuted. Leopold even abrogated that clause of the *bullæ aureæ* which authorized an armed resistance to despotic power; he abolished the right of the Diet to elect **their** kings; and he settled the succession to the throne on the male line of Hapsburgs. These acts aroused another rebellion, in 1703, and Vienna was only preserved by the solemn pledge of Leopold that he would respect the constitution. He died in 1705, and the curse of the Hungarians followed him to the grave. He had ruled forty-eight years, but had not attained his great object, the destruction of the Hungarian constitution.

The brief reign of Joseph I., son of Leopold, was peaceful and just. He was an amiable and high-minded prince, and endeavored with sincerity and earnestness to repair the faults of his father. He died in 1711, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles III. Having no sons, Charles procured the acceptance of the so-called pragmatic sanction, by which his hereditary dominions were settled on his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa.

Almost all the European powers had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction; but, as prince Eugene sarcastically remarked, "a hundred thousand men would have guaranteed it better than a hundred thousand treaties!" Selfish avidity and lawless ambition can only be restrained by force. On the death of Charles III., in 1740, each of the Spanish relatives of Maria Theresa

claimed the inheritance of the Hapsburgs. Charles Albert, of Bavaria, Augustus III., king of Poland, the king of Sardinia, the king of France, and others, claimed the throne. In the mean time, Maria Theresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance which was secured to her by the pragmatic sanction. Possessed of a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom put in practice, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, in voluntarily accepting the oath of their ancient sovereigns, by which the subjects, should their privileges be invaded, are allowed to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels. As the ancestors of this princess had never complied with such engagements, the step was attended with wonderful popularity.

The Hungarians submitted cheerfully to the government of Maria Theresa. Her first care, after conciliating the affections of her people, was to procure for her husband, Francis of Lorraine, a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent; and she hoped to raise him to the imperial throne of her immense inheritance, consisting of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austrian Suabia, the four Forest Towns, Brigshaw, the Low Countries, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placenza. But a number of pretenders, for the whole or a part of the Austrian succession, were rising up against her, and her troops, though far from inconsiderable, were dispersed over her extensive dominions.

Frederick III., of Prussia, began the war. At the

head of thirty thousand choice troops, he marched into Silesia, and took possession of its capital. He then opened negotiations with Maria Theresa, and proposed to protect, to the utmost of his power, the rest of her dominions, if she would resign to him her right to Silesia. This would have been a small sacrifice for peace and security. But the queen was sensible that by yielding to the claims of one pretender, she would only encourage those of others. She therefore rejected his offer, and sent an army to expel the invaders. But after a desperate battle, the Austrians were driven back, and Frederick retained possession of Silesia. To the surprise of all Europe, Maria Theresa again rejected his proposal, and that which was previously dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of witless obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness — so apt are men to call good fortune wisdom, and connect folly with disaster. The victory of Frederick III. encouraged the other claimants to the Austrian possessions, and a treaty was negotiated, in which a division of the countries was agreed on between them.

The combined armies advanced toward Vienna in 1741. The imperial city, being badly fortified, could make, it was generally thought, but a feeble resistance against the victorious invaders. Surrounded by enemies, and driven from every other part of her dominions, Maria Theresa took refuge in Hungary. With her eldest son, then an infant, in her arms, she appeared as a fugitive and a suppliant before the Diet at Presburg, and addressed them as follows: "Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked

by my nearest relations, I have no resource left but in your fidelity and valor. On you alone I depend for relief; and into your hands I commit, with confidence, the son of your sovereign, and my just cause." Forgetting the insults, and perjuries and oppressions of centuries, and affected by this expression of confidence, by this flattering appeal to their loyalty, and by the appearance of a young, beautiful, and heroic princess in distress, the generous Hungarians drew their sabers and enthusiastically cried, "We will die for Maria Theresa!"

This was no momentary start of passion. The nobility were instantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honored with the name of *father*, marched to the relief of Vienna, with thirty thousand men. The city was saved, and the power of Maria Theresa was established. These services were ill requited by the queen. But she had the tact, while undermining the constitution of Hungary, to retain the affections of the people. Although she established useful institutions, improved the condition of the peasantry, permitted a considerable degree of religious freedom to the Protestants, and expelled the Jesuits from the kingdom, these measures were always the cover for insidious attacks upon the constitution, which proved more serious than open warfare would have been.

Her son, Joseph II., (the unprotected infant of 1741,) who succeeded Maria Theresa, in 1770, exhibited his gratitude in still stronger features. He refused to be crowned as king of Hungary. He forcibly seized the crown and took it to Vienna. He declared that the Hungarian constitution was abolished. He was imperious,

bigoted and intolerant. His reckless administration occasioned universal dissatisfaction. He caused the greatest confusion in all branches of the government. Ambitious of being thought a philosopher, he respected no historical rights; he boldly overturned established institutions and usages. When, in 1790, after a reign of twenty years, he found himself involved in almost inextricable difficulties, he retracted, on his death-bed, all the ordinances he had issued. When the news of his death went abroad, the joy of the people was manifested by illuminations and by bonfires kindled from one end of the country to the other. His officers were compelled to flee, and his odious ordinances were publicly burned.

When his brother, Leopold II., received the scepter, he commenced a thorough reform of the abuses established by his predecessors. His first act was to convocate the Diet, and to acknowledge and to secure, firmly as could be done by enactments, the independence of the nation and the inviolability of the Hungarian constitution. Full freedom of conscience and of religious worship, was accorded to the Protestants. To the Diet was assigned the exclusive right of introducing, abrogating and interpreting all laws, subject to the royal sanction. The dangerous practice of governing the country by imperial patents was abandoned. The king himself was not to be allowed to interfere in the administration of justice, nor, in cases of high treason, to arraign the accused before any other than the established courts. A committee of the Diet was authorized to inquire into the grievances of Hungary, with power to review the whole circumstances of the country, and

to propose a general and efficient reform. This Diet was one of the most important that ever assembled in Hungary, for the investigation which Leopold required, was the germ of the recent Hungarian struggle for freedom. These wise and liberal measures gave the hope of a bright future to the country. But, in 1792, the king died suddenly, probably from poison, after having reigned less than two years.

Francis, his son, marked his advent to the throne with deeds of blood. He was a true Hapsburg. The worst traits of his ancestors, which were intermitted in his amiable father, sprang forth in him with fresh vigor. He was selfish, narrow-minded, distrustful and tyrannical. Those who were suspected even of a thought hostile to his intents, were devoted to certain destruction. Even his brothers trembled when in his presence. He was vulgar in the extreme, and this gave him a certain kind of popularity with the vulgar. He delighted in the language of the mob, and he gained the plaudits of the mob by its use. He was a thorough despot. He desired to make his will the sole law of his dominions. Constitutional restrictions upon the exercise of authority were intolerable to him. He was the foe of education, because education might induce men to think, and he wanted no thinking — he wished only for obedience. “I want no learned men in my dominions. I want only men who will do what I bid them!” “I don’t want learned subjects: I want good subjects!” “Nation! I acknowledge none! I merely have *subjects!*” were habitual expressions with him. The idea of absolute power on the part of the monarch, and passive slavery on the part of the people, pervades

them all. Never did fate contrive a more fatal conjunction than by coupling the heartless and illiberal Francis with the heartless, tyrannical and illiberal Metternich. The miscreant Caraffa, of former days, said, "If one of his pulses beat for the Hungarians, he would cut it out and burn it." Francis and Metternich, the monarch and the minister, were worthy of Caraffa. Unyielding absolutism was the predominant feature of their characters, and bound them together ; while Metternich, as the incorporation of the Hapsburg policy, outlived his master's reign, and continued in office, as a disagreeable but necessary part of the machinery. History has already placed her stigma on their foreheads, and branded their memory with everlasting infamy. Firm as was the enmity of Francis against popular liberties and institutions, his necessities did not, at the same time, permit of his dispensing with the assistance of Hungary, and his attacks upon that country were, therefore, cunningly tempered to the times. When Napoleon's armies threatened his throne, he became a zealous advocate of Diets. From 1802 to 1812 he convoked the estates of Hungary not less than six times. But when his treason had wrought the overthrow of the hero who had spared him in the hour of his weakness — when the danger was over — when his throne was supported by the foreshadowings of Russian bayonets, thirteen years elapsed before he again summoned a Diet.

Under his reign another opportunity was offered the Hungarians to escape from the grasp of their Austrian oppressors. Napoleon, the victor of Wagram, and the conqueror of one-half of Austria, in 1809, summoned

the Hungarians to reject the authority of the Hapsburgs, and elect a king on the Rakos field, as their fathers had done before them. But the Hungarians, although their loyalty was unrequited, declined to profit by the opportunity thus held out to them. They stood by the house of Hapsburg, and by so doing they deferred their own freedom and endangered the liberty of Europe. For Austria was, and ever will be, the fiercest antagonist of all liberty, no matter where it is to be found, and what are its forms.

It requires but a very moderate degree of political sagacity to imagine the consequences of a line of action contrary to that which the Hungarians really did take. If, following Napoleon's bidding, they had conferred their crown on a native Hungarian, they would have caused the dissolution of that heterogeneous and unnatural mass of countries which constitutes the empire of Austria. They would have overthrown a dynasty, which, from time immemorial, has been the stronghold of absolutism, and they would have protected the infancy of constitutional liberty on the continent of Europe. The secession of Hungary and its crown-lands, and of Galicia, and the incorporation of part of the German provinces with Bavaria, would have reduced Austria to the level of a power of the second rank. Her voice would have been weak among the nations. The liberty and independence of Hungary would have led to the liberty of Poland, and two mighty kingdoms would have formed a barrier against Russian encroachments upon the affairs and interests of the west.

The stormy events which shook all Europe during the first part of the reign of Francis, prevented, or

rather served as an excuse for delaying, the consideration of the reforms contemplated by Leopold. The romantic generosity of the Hungarians kept them quiet during the period when Austria's weakness would have been compelled to grant, what Austria's strength afterward enabled her to refuse. In 1823, Francis thought the revolutionary spirit of Europe so completely subdued, that he might safely make an attack upon the constitutional rights of the Hungarians. Onerous taxes were levied, without the consent of the Diet, and an illegal requisition for troops was made. As the right of granting supplies was the only guarantee of the king's fidelity to the constitution, this measure excited the liveliest indignation. Nearly all the counties protested in the most energetic manner. The spirit of the country is vividly depicted in the following remonstrance from the county of Bars :

“SIRE — Whereas, in spite of the intrigues of the enemies of this kingdom, the Hungarian nation has, from the advent of your House to the throne, remained true to its character and its prince : and whereas the hereditary succession of either sex, which this nation introduced of its own free will, has materially tended more firmly to establish the throne which was so long upheld by the courage and the loyalty of the Hungarian nation ; and whereas these facts are on record, by a variety of public acts and documents, which it would be too long to enumerate ; and whereas the conclusion of peace, which was gained by bravery equal to that of foreign nations, and by the mutual assistance and support of the Hungarians, justified us all in our hopes, that the victims of war would at

length be permitted in safety to enjoy the fruits of their struggles ; we find, on the contrary, that the old wounds of the people are caused to bleed afresh, that the authority of the laws is put aside, that the military venture to desecrate the curias and county-houses, that liberty of speech is suppressed, that public functionaries are imprisoned, and that our constitutional existence seems to be tottering on the brink of ruin.

“Our minds have been seized with distress and surprise when we learned that a member of a noble Hungarian family, a guardian of the holy crown, has of late appeared in the neighboring county of Neutra, where he introduced himself as a royal commissioner, and where he proceeded, under the protection of your sacred name, to dissolve the sitting of the Estates, immediately after the proclamation of your resolution, for the purpose of preventing them from expressing their opinion ; to place the magistrates (in flagrant violation of the privileges of nobility, and without a summons or judicial decree) in custody of a military guard ; to force those that have sworn, to be forsworn ; to cut off the way of legal remedies by seizing the protocols and the representation — in a word, to put aside all right and justice, and thus degrade your majesty’s legal dignity by its abusive exercise. And we understand that this person, like an obnoxious thunder-storm, proposes to subject other counties to his visitation.

“There were men in each time, and under each government, who abused the confidence of their sovereign, and who tarnished the splendor of the diadem by exposing it to the tears of the people. Our country, especially in these latter times, has not wanted hostile

ministers, who, after having first suppressed the voice of the nation, have endeavored, by false reports and fictitious grievances against our constitution, to lower us in the good opinion of our kings, and who, alledging the interest of the commonwealth, sought to undermine the municipal statutes, rights and liberties of this kingdom. But who could have thought of the possibility of an attack at this time? Who could have thought that Hungarians could be found so forgetful of their ancestors and their duties, as to make themselves the instruments of an illegal system, which, we are convinced, is foreign to your majesty's heart? The very same attacks which, in another and equally fatal time, were directed against the personal prerogatives of the nobility, have now been leveled against the public law, and against the safety of persons and property; for the liberty of legally speaking and consulting among ourselves, which remained intact for many centuries, has, in this season of distress, been abolished, and the greatest danger threatens every man who ventures to speak his mind on public affairs. The humble petitions which we used to prefer to you as our common father, are now prohibited, and those which we sent in at an earlier period are contemptuously placed *ad acta*; our appeal to the laws, which hitherto was sacred in the eyes of kings, has come to be execrated and stigmatized as opposition and rebellion.

“When we consider the monopolies of all various merchandise, and illegal dependence of our chambers, the frequent interference with the courts of law, the abuse of patents and royal liberties, the want of a Diet, and many other complaints and grievances; and

when we consider that the Hungarian nation, not only in 1805, but also throughout the period of their prolonged ill-treatment, have remained true and loyal to the high reigning dynasty, that they have shrunk from no sacrifice, and that they have always been profuse in their proofs of attachment and devotion : it is indeed a marvel to think that there should be men so hostile to their country and to your majesty's own interests, as to advise you to recruit your army in a manner which is foreign to law, and to insist on the payment of the taxes in specie, and enforce such payment in the very face of the absence of all gold and silver coin from this kingdom of Hungary."

The remonstrance from which the above extracts are taken, shows what the condition of Hungary was, and what the king and his counselors would have made it. Francis at first endeavored to execute his will by force of arms, but his attempts were frustrated by the firmness of the people. He, therefore, in 1825, summoned a Diet, reconfirmed the authority of the constitution, and ruled with a more careful respect for legal requirements. But it chafed his arbitrary spirit to submit to the constitutional restraints imposed upon him—to exercise only a circumscribed and delegated power. He became fretful and capricious in the extreme. Conscious of his approaching end, he desired to have his son, Ferdinand crowned king of Hungary ; and, notwithstanding his disregard of public law and violation of private rights, he issued a proclamation to the Hungarians, expressing the most ardent desire "to promote the glory and welfare of the people whom God had intrusted to his care," and concluded by saying that

the coronation of his son was a "fresh pledge of his paternal love" for the Hungarians! Although desirous of conciliating the people, he could not separate the idea of reform from revolution; nor could he longer stifle the free spirit of the people. He died in 1832, during the session of a Diet, composed of men no longer content with merely requiring that the principles of the old constitution should be fairly carried out, but that important reforms — reforms whose tendency was gradually to transfer the sovereignty of the nation from the crown to the people — should take place in their institutions. The action of that Diet constituted an essential element of the late Hungarian struggle for independence.

CHAPTER IV.

KOSSUTH THE REFORMER

FREEDOM! Despotism! These antagonistic principles severally characterized the two great eras in Hungarian history. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century, the people of Hungary enjoyed a greater degree of civil and personal freedom than the inhabitants of any other European state. They had a written constitution — the powers of the monarchs and the nobility were limited, and the possession of many valuable popular rights was guaranteed. The welfare of the people was the glory of the state — their prosperity and happiness constituted the splendor of the throne. The kings were the champions and protectors of liberty and the constitution. But in 1526, when bribery and intrigue secured the election of Ferdinand of Hapsburg to the vacant throne of Hungary, the era of despotism began. Possessed of absolute and irresponsible power in Austria, Ferdinand and his descendants were unwilling to reign as the constitutional kings of Hungary; and their lives were a series of persevering and unscrupulous conspiracies to overthrow the freedom of Hungary, and reduce it to the servile condition of Austria. For more than three hundred years they have sought, by the most unprincipled and desperate means, to subjugate the Hungarian nation, and to rob

it of its liberties, its constitution and its independence. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, after long years of bloody cruelty, resisted by heroic courage and the firmest patriotism, the treachery of Maria Theresa accomplished what force had been unable to effect. The constitution of the kingdom was discarded. Hungary was crushed. The Austrian emperor had put his heel upon the rights of that gallant people, and they were believed to be extinct forever. From time to time the Magyar race had made gigantic efforts to break their chains. Battles were fought, heroic labors were performed, great men arose as leaders, and the dark despotism of Austria was illuminated by fierce but transient gleams of patriotic endeavor on the part of the subject people. But all had been in vain — Hungary lay to all appearance dead.

With the dawn of the present century, a new generation upon the throne of Hapsburg, a younger set of men in the homes of the Magyar, new circumstances arose, and new relations, both internal and external, were generated. The Magyar — forgiving but not forgetting the wrongs of his fathers ; acquiescing for the time in a tyranny which he could not overthrow ; corrupted, too, it may be, to some extent, by the blandishments which absolutism knew so well how to use — became the best reliance of Austria when enfeebled by the long wars that grew out of the French revolution. He joined in her battles with the mighty spirit who then distracted and terrified the allied scepters of Europe. The discipline and impetuous energy of the Hungarian soldiery saved many a field in which the feebler force of Austria would have been borne to the

ground. These services ought to have been requited on the part of Austria, in a liberal spirit of administration toward her assistant, but, with the exception of a few trivial concessions, and an occasional relaxation of oppressive edicts, the old system was enforced with all its former stringency and malevolence. At the same time, however, these services of the Hungarians had been profitable to themselves, for they had taught them the secret of their strength. It was a great thing to have learned the fact that if they were insignificant in peace, they could be terrible in war. They were emboldened and encouraged to more positive demands. The feeling of the nation was awakened ; they threw off the lethargy of long inactivity ; the spell of despair and utter helplessness was broken ; a vigorous, fresh blood coursed through their veins ; new thoughts and new hopes, and new resolves gave a bounding spring and elasticity to their minds.

The circumstances of the country, at the time the Diet of 1832 was convened, are clearly and eloquently portrayed in the following extracts from a speech recently delivered at Southampton, England, by the illustrious Kossuth, who entered public life as a member of that Diet :

“To understand fully the Hungarian question, it will be necessary to say a few words about Hungarian institutions. You all know that Hungary was for more than eight hundred years a constitutional monarchy, and that alone is no small indication as to the elements of strength existing in my nation. When you reflect on the geographical position of Hungary, and reflect that the Magyar race are Asiatic people, men thrust

into the middle of European races, without friends and without kindred, you must give credit for the firmness and inherent strength that maintained the national institutions for so long a period. We were, in fact, surrounded by despotic powers. On the one side was Turkey encroaching on us for centuries, and against which we had for ages been considered the bulwark of Europe—not only of its civilization, but of its christianity—and on another was Russia, a power which, not for the benefit of mankind, has grown prodigiously in influence during the last century. On the third side was Austria, not the large empire it now is, but the proper dominions of the House of Hapsburg, not one of the sons of which, if history speaks truth, was ever the friend of political freedom. One of them, 't is true, Joseph II., was the friend of religious freedom, and of the social freedom of the peasantry. But even he, the best of the Austrian dynasty, was strenuously opposed to any extension of political privileges. Such was our position, then, surrounded by Turkey, Russia, and the dominions of the house of Hapsburg; and, besides all that, we had an internal state of things which has always been considered a bar to national greatness, namely, that the people of the country were excluded from political privileges. Still, with all these difficulties, the Magyars preserved not only their national life but their national institutions. Am I not, then, justified in saying that such a nation deserves to have rights? I have already stated that the original people of the country had a share in constitutional rights. The constitution of Hungary was aristocratic, but an aristocratic constitution in Hungary was somewhat

different from the meaning which is attached to the word in England. In Hungary the word is not synonymous with power and wealth, but simply means position obtained by birth, so that if a man were born noble, all his children and children's children would be noble also. What was the consequence? Nations, like individuals, are subject to many changes, and the descendants of the old nobles of Hungary did not remain great and powerful, but became so propagated and diffused as to be nearly the people themselves, and poorer than the peasantry — because the nobles had the ambition not to work, as if labor were not the highest honor of humanity. Therefore, we found that this poor aristocracy were not only in the condition of the people, but actually poorer, because not so industrious. But one prominent feature in these facts is, that our aristocracy was not so opposed to the extension of constitutional rights as even the other aristocracies of the middle ages, and as was formerly the aristocracy of this country. I say was, because I confess that the aristocracy of England have known how to meet the exigencies of the time, to share their privileges with the people, and to bear with the latter their proper share in the public burdens of the country. And they have had their reward, for the aristocracy of England has remained firm, while other aristocracies have been scattered to the winds. But in Hungary the nobles were diffused among the people, mere agriculturists, landlords, or manufacturers and laborers, and therefore the word in one case must be taken with a meaning different from its acceptation in other countries, and I must add, although the people were not by their ancient constitution

allowed to speak for themselves, still we always had found among the aristocracy, generous and valiant men, ready to stand forth as the champions of their country, and of the rights of humanity. To enable them to do so, they had framed two institutions—one was what I may call the parliament of Hungary, and the other was the county municipal institutions; which latter, more than the parliament, were the safeguards of the rights of the people. Besides, these county institutions were so framed that they could be the only media through which the government could convey orders to the magistrate and other officers. These country meetings were composed of noblemen who resided in the counties, and in some counties amounted to twenty-five or thirty thousand, every one of whom had the right of voting at elections for magistrates, who were the only executive power of the country. If the government wanted any order executed it must be done by the municipal magistrate: but he could not come into immediate contact with the government, which must send its orders in the first instance to the county meeting. Such meetings had a right to discuss the orders of government, and more than one case has occurred, in which the order was not forwarded to the magistrate for execution, but a remonstrance sent to the government for requiring it. They formed thus a strong barrier against the encroachments of the government; and no country has needed such a barrier more than Hungary, as for more than three centuries, the house of Hapsburg has not had at its head a man who was a friend to political freedom. Now, the house of Hapsburg has ruled in Hungary for three centuries, not by conquest, but by

the free choice of the nation ; not without conditions, but firmly bound by treaties, the chief feature of which was, that when the king was admitted to power in the order of his lineal succession, he was to rule and govern Hungary by means of its own public institutions, and according to its own laws ; he swore solemnly to do so, and prayed to the eternal God to bless him and his race, as he was true to his oath. Thirteen kings we have had of this dynasty, and no man can charge me with exaggeration, when I say that the rule of these thirteen kings has been a continuous perjury. Yes, perjury, that is the word. Gentlemen, I am a plain man, and call things by their right names. Now, when the Hungarian nation elected the head of the house of Hapsburg as her sovereign, the country contained upward of 4,000 German geographical square miles, which, I am informed, is equal to about 100,000 English square miles, and fifteen millions of people : no small or insignificant realm, as you will admit. At that time, too, the house of Hapsburg ruled constitutionally in all their other provinces, but subsequently those provinces lost their rights ; and, through the whole of the three centuries, the intention of the house of Hapsburg has been to obtain undisputed, absolute dominion over all their territories.

“We administered a coronation oath, setting forth that there was to be no connection between Hungary and any other province — that while we acknowledged the same sovereign, our national rights were to be preserved, and we were to be governed solely by our own laws and customs. We also provided that, in case the sovereignty should, in the line of succession, fall into

the hands of a child, the same course should not be adopted as in the case of Austria. In such a contingency, the regent of Austria would be some elder member of the royal family ; but we provided that a Hungarian palatine should be appointed, so as that our constitutional rights should not be absorbed. These rights were also protected by our municipal institutions, which, with an inherent strength that never could be completely broken, steadily resisted the encroachments of the crown. Perhaps I may illustrate the defensive strength of these institutions by alluding to the siege of Saragossa by Napoleon. When Napoleon had battered down the walls, he was as far from success as ever, because he had to fight single battles with the citizens in every street. So it was in Hungary with her municipal institutions. I remember an occasion when the house of Hapsburg, in defiance of the parliament, levied troops, and raised the taxes from one to two and a half times as much as they were before, and when the majority of over fifty-two of our counties, influenced by terror and every other means at the disposal of the government, submitted to the encroachment. At that time there were only ten or twelve comitats that resisted, and the resistance of even these few was as effective as that of the people of Saragossa. By these means we preserved, through all encroachments, some shadow of independence, but the Austrian government having obtained absolute power in their other provinces, took every means, from open violence to the most insidious frauds, to overthrow our municipal institutions. They fomented our quarrels, undermined our national character, beggared our country

and corrupted our nobles. Our parliament, which ought to be convened once in three years, was not convened for twenty, and so arbitrary government went on, until at last we became aware that from 300,000 to 500,000 nobles would not be sufficient to defend the rights of the country from the despotic tendencies of Austria. From this point date our struggles, which have now lasted for about twenty-eight years. We decided that our best safeguard would be to inspire all the people with the sentiments of patriotism, by giving all an equal interest in constitutional rights. That was the direction of public opinion in Hungary in 1825. We felt the necessity the more, because, although we had a board or council of government, which by law was responsible to the country, and was bound not to carry into execution any order, even of the sovereign, which was contrary to our laws, still we knew that there was no real responsibility in that council, because no corrupt body can be made to feel responsibility. Individuals may be made responsible, but when the government becomes collective, responsibility vanishes. We saw, therefore, that our rights and privileges were vanishing under the machinations of the Austrian government, in which Metternich was then all in all; and feeling that 500,000 nobles could not effectually resist such encroachments, we proposed to give to the whole fifteen millions of our people an interest in constitutional rights, and a motive for defending them. The peasantry must form an important consideration in every country, but doubly so in Hungary, which was and is chiefly an agricultural country. The condition of our peasantry became, then, the first topic with our

reformers, who felt that our country, so highly gifted by nature, could never be made the earthly paradise it ought to be except by free laborers enjoying constitutional rights ; and seeing that our peasant had to work for his landlord one hundred and four days in the year, to which must be added Sundays, festivals and winter, and had to give the ninth of his produce to the seigneur, the tenth to the bishop, we felt that this was a condition contrary to human rights and the principles of justice. The first thing, then, we did, was to emancipate the people. The reform, however, was only effected by slow degrees. In the long parliament, which sat from 1832 to 1836, it was proposed in the lower house, which consists wholly of elected members, that every peasant should have the right to make himself free of his feudal and seigniorial burdens by paying off the capital of his dues. At first we proposed that this power should be independent of the will of the landlord, but were opposed by the house of lords, until at last, by the influence of government, it was reduced to the privilege of purchasing freedom with the consent of the landlord. That modified measure was carried by the commons and lords, but was refused by the regent, who was thus at issue with the people on this great question in 1836. I should state that the members of the commons voted as they were instructed by the comitats, and therefore it was toward the latter that the intrigues of the government were principally directed. They could not corrupt them by means of the count palatine, who, being by office president of the house of lords, could not intrigue with the county meetings, and therefore other persons were selected to

carry into the county meetings every species of corruption. They appointed an administrator in every county, who should never leave the county, but be present at every meeting, control every act, and corrupt every troublesome member, in order that the comitats might become the mere tools of government. It was this system we opposed with all our strength of mind and body, but with no narrow view to the privileges of our own class. We wanted these institutions to be independent, in order that we might reform our system for the benefit of the entire people."

Among the most active and influential members of the Diet of 1832, was Baron Wesselenyi. Having estates in Hungary and Transylvania, he was entitled to a seat in the Diets of both. He first entered the Transylvanian Diet, and his truth, sincerity and eloquence soon caused him to be acknowledged as the head of the party of progress. In the absence of a free press, Wesselenyi had previously expended a large portion of his immense wealth in the purchase of small estates in every county, that he might have a right to participate in the proceedings of the political meetings. He addressed these meetings with great courage and energy. No Diet had been called for twenty-three years, and the illegal exactions and tyranny of the monarch had become intolerable. The eloquence of Wesselenyi had aroused the whole country. From almost every quarter, petitions and remonstrances, more loud and more angry as delay exhausted the patience of the petitioners, crowded the archives of the chancery: petitions and remonstrances soon grew into denials, and demands at last assumed the form of threats. Baron

Wesselenyi publicly announced his intention to allow no soldiers to be levied on his estates till a Diet had been granted. Not only individuals, but several counties followed his example. The moment had arrived when it was thought no longer safe to resist the popular wish. The court knew full well that Wesselenyi was a man to keep his word. While attending a levee of Francis I., at Presburg, the sovereign, in passing round the room, stopped before the distinguished Transylvanian reformer, and shaking his head ominously, roughly exclaimed: "Take care, Baron Wesselenyi, take care what you are about! recollect that many of your family have been unfortunate!" This was said with reference to the reformer's father, who had been many years a prisoner of state on account of political offenses. "Unfortunate, your majesty, they have been; but always undeserving of those misfortunes!" was Wesselenyi's bold reply. The whole court was thrown into consternation by this unexpected fearlessness. Explanations were offered to Wesselenyi, to soften down the harshness of the royal reproof, in hopes of inducing him to solicit pardon for his rashness; but he would not apologize for having defended the honor of his family, even when attacked by his king.

The great influence of such an indomitable and uncompromising character was not to be disregarded, and a Diet was granted to Transylvania. But the government was unwilling to acquiesce in the measures of the Diet. The political excitement was spreading far and wide. From the mountains of the hardy Szeklers to the quiet villages of the cautious Saxons, the cry for reform of abuses grew louder and louder. At such a

moment, a bold hand, a comprehensive mind, and an honest heart, would at once have grappled with the difficulties, offered a frank reform of abuses, and gone in advance even of the expectations of the people in correcting acknowledged evils. In an instant the whole country would have been at the foot of the throne. No one would have ventured to oppose so fair a promise of good, and Transylvania would have overlooked a thousand past faults in the anticipation of a happy future. Such, unfortunately, was not the course pursued. The emperor issued a proclamation dissolving the Diet, suspending the constitution, and appointing the archduke governor of Hungary, with absolute power. This personage, in answer to a remonstrance from one of the most moderate of the opposition, on the illegality of an ordinance just issued, said : " Das erste Gesetz its des Kaisers befehl ! " — the first law is the emperor's will ! This caused the most extraordinary sensation. The archduke and his small band of officials were sedulously shunned by the nobility. Ladies refused to attend at his palace, or to go into society where he was invited. His dangerous enmity to constitutional rights strengthened, among the Transylvanians, sentiments of disinterested and generous devotion to the public good. Wesselenyi, who was not a man to yield, when he believed himself right, steadily refused to sacrifice a single principle on the plea of expediency, and was driven from the principality. He hastened to the Hungarian Diet, and became as actively employed there in the service of his country, as he had been in the Transylvanian Diet.

Aware of the vast importance to the future happi-

ness of his country, of granting equal rights before the law to the peasantry, Wesselenyi used his utmost exertions to convince the electors how closely the true interests of peasant and noble were allied ; how certainly the acquisition of just rights by the one, would increase the wealth and power of the other, and, more than all, how the union of both would consolidate the discordant interests by which Hungary was divided, into one strong and powerful nation. In the name of eight millions of their countrymen, he called on them for justice. He demanded that equal rights before the law should be extended to all, and that the burdens of the state should be borne by them equally with the peasant. In the course of his speech he alluded to the policy so universally adopted by the Austrian government in Hungary, of exciting the nobles against the peasants, and the peasants against the nobles ; of teaching each class to regard the other as their natural enemies, in order by division to weaken both, and thus strengthen herself ; and he stigmatized in strong terms so treacherous a policy, the ultimate object of which could only be the degradation and slavery of the whole country. He said : "The government sucks out the marrow of nine millions of men (the peasantry ;) it will not allow us nobles to better their condition by legislative means ; but retaining them in their present state, it only waits its own time to exasperate them against us, — then it will come forward to rescue us. But wo to us ! from freemen we shall be degraded to the state of slaves." Claiming that these words were treasonable, the government commenced an action against him, and put him upon trial for his life.

Among the evidence which was considered as especially proving the revolutionary intent of these words, was a declaration in one of Wesselenyi's private notes, that "all his life had been spent in pounding pepper under the emperor's nose!" The judges had determined to acquit him; but they were informed that by doing so they would incur the serious displeasure of the government. Wesselenyi was condemned to a long imprisonment. From one end of the country to the other, a universal cry of shame arose against this gross but not unprecedented act of injustice. Several members of the Diet who warmly denounced the measure, were also prosecuted.

Louis Kossuth, another member of the Diet of 1832, only son of Andreas Kossuth, by his wife Caroline Weber, was born on the 27th of April, 1806, in the small village of Monok, in the upper region of Hungary. His family was highly respectable, dating back to antique nobility; but by the slow wear and tear of time and suffering in the cause of freedom, it had been reduced to poverty. Seventeen of the name were attainted for treason against the Hapsburgs, in the course of the sixteenth century. Louis had in childhood the promise of extraordinary genius and mental strength. His mother impressed upon him the stamp of her own powerful mind, and kindled those glowing aspirations which have advanced him since childhood to the front rank of humanity. Of his early teachings, which were received in a charitable way from men who had judgment enough to realize his future abilities, there is little to tell. Sufficient Latin was mastered before he entered the Protestant school of Sarostapak,

to familiarize him with that primer-book of youthful heroism, Plutarch's Lives; and deeply and absorbingly did the growing boy drink the intoxicating stories of Grecian glory and Roman world-wide victories.

Like most cultivated men of his class in Hungary, he turned his attention to the law, and by his superior mental gifts, speedily rose to the first position among his brethren of the county of Zemplin. He began his political course in the same county, where by virtue of his extensive acquirements, and especially of his eloquence, he soon occupied a foremost place in the ranks of the opposition.

During the session of the Diet of 1825, the young advocate removed to Pesth, where he soon found opportunities of cultivating those parliamentary talents which have since developed themselves in the perfect orator, the resistless debater. Some of the liberal nobles, companions of Wesselenyi and Szechenyi, furnished him, during occasional absences, with proxies to represent them in the Diet, and while the post furnished no immediate opening to fame, it schooled the future hero in the interests, the rights, and the needs of his country. The Diet extracted several important concessions from the Austrian emperor before it finally dissolved; and when it did so, Kossuth, discouraged with the chances of legal success at the capital, turned his face toward Zemplin, his native county, where his practice rapidly grew and multiplied. The Diet when assembled in 1832, once more called the young barrister to the capital. His talents at reporting debates attracted the notice of the liberal leaders. He was employed to write out full records of the public

proceedings, and circulate them by the aid of the press through every town and hamlet of the country. The struggle of the liberals was a glorious one, and Kossuth's history of it moved the popular mind of Hungary almost to frenzy.

He first took part in the affairs of the country at large in 1836. He was then sent to the Diet as the substitute of an absent magnate. In that capacity he held a seat in the chamber of Deputies; but the laws then gave no influence to this kind of substitute. He shortly after left this post. All the greater became his influence and authority by the publication of a periodical entitled, "Reports of the Diet." At that time the extremely strict Austrian censorship canceled every free word. The proceedings of the Diet either did not appear before the public at all, or at best only in a mutilated form. The want of more accurate information in this respect was generally felt throughout Hungary, and by none more than by Kossuth, whose whole soul was already striving after freedom, and after all those means by which this holy treasure could be attained. He accordingly resolved to publish, *in manuscript*, under the above title, all the speeches and proceedings of the Diet. For this purpose he learned stenography, and employed a number of short-hand writers. Although the expense of writing made his paper very costly, it received a large number of subscribers, and soon became the first and most powerful of the public agents in the field, on the side of the country and its constitutional interests. He made an attempt to give his paper a wider circulation by having it lithographed, but he met with hindrances on

every hand. The press was at last arbitrarily confiscated, and he was again restricted to its distribution in manuscript.

The young reformer labored strenuously to maintain his leadership of the national awakening. He studied and acquired the French and English languages, in his pursuit of French and English principles of freedom. Day and night, reserving, like Bonaparte, but two or three hours for rest, he drew into himself the elements of greatness and power, and expended them in arguments and pleadings for popular rights and immunities. The burning words of the writer were intolerable to the cold temper of the Austrian. Accordingly, once in the still watches of the night, when he was walking alone on the wooded shores of the Danube, the stars gazing softly down upon his meditations, the quiet waters rolling at his feet, he was suddenly seized by the minions of tyranny, blindfolded and cast into a dungeon. After a long confinement, he was at last brought into daylight to take his trial. He came to the bar, and as the rumor of the event had gone forth, thousands of the readers of those letters had come to listen to the result. His face was pale and haggard from suffering, but his step was firm, his head erect, and his eyes burning with unquenchable fire. As a lawyer he managed his own case, but had not, as most of us have, in such attempts, according to the old adage, a fool for his client. He met the accusations against him at every point ; he foiled the skill of the attorneys ; he made the judges wince under his rebukes ; he roused the people to fury by his appeals. "Never," says a historian, "had Hungary witnessed a more magnificent struggle for life and

liberty." But what is adroitness of logic, what intellectual fire, what dignity and elevation of character, opposed to the predetermined will of Austrian despotism? He was condemned to a long and solitary imprisonment. His friends accompanied him to the dark and pestilent fortress of Buda, but as they walked along, he was silent and subdued. His heart was too full for the vain relief of words: yet, as they turned to depart, he said, "there is something here which can not be spoken." But those nameless words have since been spoken, and in the glowing and deathless eloquence of LOUIS KOSSUTH are echoing round the world!

Meantime, while the young advocate was learning to read Shakspeare by the faint light of his dungeon-grate, and pondering his own and his country's destiny, in the slow hours of the night, the rumor of his condemnation flew on the wings of birds to every corner of the land. The people, nobles and peasants alike, instinctively knew their friend, and took up his cause. Even as far off as the Austrian capital, the democratic instinct recognized its man, and made common cause with the masses of Hungary. Associations were formed in Vienna, as well as in all the chief towns and villages of the Magyar land, to sustain the natural rights of humanity against the arrogant pretensions of reigning families. Three years of busy agitation accomplished the work of over twenty years of slow-moving discussion.

Kossuth entered into captivity on the 4th of May, 1837. At once, the people clamored fiercely for his release. He was extolled as a martyr of liberty. His imprisonment was unendurable to the Magyar spirit

his words had excited. His name was a household word at every hearth, and a prayer for his release a clause in every devotion. Every endeavor was made to cheer his confinement. Among others who strove to comfort him was Teresa Mezleyi, a young lady of noble birth, great beauty, eminent abilities and rare accomplishments. To these bright endowments and rich acquisitions, were joined a sweetness of disposition, and goodness of heart, which more than wealth or social position, made her a general favorite. These heightened the beauty of her expressive features; these threw around her manners an indescribable charm; these taught her that gentle courtesy toward all, which springs from a source far deeper than the mere polish of conventional life; and these prompted her to continual acts of unostentatious benevolence. She had listened to the powerful and impassioned eloquence of the young patriot. She appreciated his enthusiastic devotion to freedom and the cause of his country. She cordially participated in the general gratitude for his services, and in the universal sympathy for his sufferings. She followed him to his gloomy and unwholesome dungeon. Her delicate and uniform attentions at this trying period, aided to sustain his courage and to mitigate the weariness of his long years of imprisonment. She kept him supplied with reading, from time to time, now in the shape of the latest political essay or pamphlet, now in a letter full of news, of sympathy, and of encouragement. A more tender emotion than compassion for the prisoner—a more ardent feeling than gratitude for the sweet benefactress, soon filled their hearts. Immediately after Kossuth was released

from his dark, damp dungeon, in 1840, Teresa became his wife. This marriage was no less auspicious than romantic. The fearless, high-souled and self-devoted patriot, found in Teresa Mezleyi a worthy companion. Kossuth left his prison, physically worn and enfeebled, but mentally in a far higher state of preparation for his destined work than when he had been hurried into his walled solitude.

When Kossuth was released from his cell, he found his companion, the old Baron Wesselenyi blind, under the cruel treatment he had received ; but he found the eyes of the people open, their judgments sane, and their bodies strong to do the work of the time. Condemned for the sake of the press, his first act was to establish a press—the *Pesti Hirlap*—the first liberal newspaper in the east of Europe. The satraps of Austria tried to strangle it, but they tried in vain ; matters had gone too far ; the democratic spirit was up ; and for six years, Kossuth and his friends battled with injustice, both at home and abroad, as the infant Hercules in his cradle battled with the serpents. Although the leaden hand of the censor weighed down the free expression of opinion, his editorials increased in boldness and spirit. They were the premonition of the approaching convulsion. How deeply the impassioned patriot felt the restraints of the censorship, his own language, on a recent occasion, can best tell :

“ Yes, gentlemen, it is a proud recollection of my life that I commenced my public career in the humble capacity of a journalist. And in that respect I may perhaps be somewhat entitled to your brotherly indulgence, as you, in the happy condition which the

institutions of your country insure to you, can not have even an idea of the tortures of the journalist who has to write with fettered hands, and who is more than fettered by an arbitrary, preventive censorship. You have no idea what a torture it is, to sit down to your writing desk, the breast full of the necessity of the moment, the heart full of righteous feelings, the mind full of convictions and of principles—and all this warmed by the lively fire of a patriot's heart—and to see before your eyes, the scissors of the censor ready to fall upon your head, like the sword of Damocles, lopping your ideas, maiming your arguments, murdering your thoughts; and his pencil before your eyes, ready to blot out, with a single dash, the work of your laborious days and sleepless nights; and to know that the people will judge you, not by what you have felt, thought and written, but by what the censor wills; to know that the ground upon which you stand is not a ground known to you, because limited by rules, but an unknown, slippery ground, the limits of which lie but within the arbitrary pleasure of your censor—doomed by profession to be stupid, and a coward, and a fool;—to know all this, and yet not to curse your destiny—not to deny that you know to read and to write, but to go on, day by day, in the torturing work of Sisyphus. Oh! it is the greatest sacrifice which an intelligent man can make to fatherland and humanity!”

Chiefly upon Kossuth were placed the hopes of the Magyars for freedom, and a resplendent, independent future. He was their embodied destiny. The nobles and the people alike paid their tribute to his merit and sufferings, and in the Diet of 1843, he was put

forward by the liberals as one of the representatives from Pesth. The whole force of the imperial court was brought to bear against him. His election would have indicated the close of Austrian influence in the kingdom ; and as a few of the Magyar leaders sympathized with the Austrians in the dread of his radical views, it was no wonder he was defeated. In the mean time, his paper, the *Pesti Hirlap*, thundered through the valleys of Hungary its fearless denunciations of the government, and invocations to popular self-redress. The old Wesselenyi traveled the country, exciting the popular mind with the same arguments, if not equal eloquence. The Diet of 1847 approached ; Kossuth stood candidate for Pesth ; and in spite of the most laborious efforts and lavish expenditure of the palatine, was returned triumphantly. He became at once the leader of that great body, and the champion of his country's cause. Unrivaled as a debater, clear, bold, uncompromising in the service he had undertaken, he roused the whole nation to a sense of its wrongs, and demanded from Austria a restoration of the rights of the Hungarian people. He claimed her old constitution. He sought no new privilege ; he only demanded that her old degree of independence should be restored. He carried the Diet with him. His skill as an orator and debater were regarded throughout the session as marvelous. Laboring constantly, and ready with thronging facts and arguments to back every measure pointing to the popular good, his intellectual power awed and controlled his fellows. Mirabeau ruled the Constitutional Assembly with no more complete sway, than Kossuth the Presburg Diet. When the news of

the Revolution of February, reached the Hungarian capital, the excitement was indescribable. Kossuth, who was making an eloquent speech concerning the relations existing between Hungary and Austria, on the arrival of this stirring intelligence, said :

“Mighty thrones, supported by political sagacity and power, have been overthrown, and nations have fought for and won their liberty, who, three months ago, could not have dreamt of the proximity of such an event. But for three whole months we are compelled to roll the stone of Sisyphus incessantly and without avail ; and my mind, I confess, is clouded with almost the grief of despair, at witnessing the languid progress which the cause of my country has made. I see with sorrow so much power, so true and noble a will, toiling at this ungrateful and unrequited task. Yes, honorable deputies, the curse of a stifling vapor weighs upon us—a pestilential air sweeps over our country from the charnel-house of the Viennese council of state, enervating our power, and exerting a deadening effect upon our national spirit. But while hitherto my anxiety has been caused by seeing the development of the resources of Hungary checked by this blighting influence, to the incalculable injury of my beloved country—by seeing the constitutional progress of the nation unsecured, and that the antagonism which has existed for three centuries between the absolutist government of Vienna and the constitutional tendency of the Hungarian nation has not up to this day been reconciled, nor ever can be reconciled, without the abandonment of either the one or the other—my apprehension at the present time is increased by other causes, and a

fear weighs upon my mind, lest this bureaucratic system, this policy of fixedness, which has grown to be part and parcel of the Viennese council of state, should lead to a dissolution of the monarchy, compromise the existence of our dynasty, and entail upon our country, which requires all her power and resources for her own internal affairs, heavy sacrifices and interminable evils.

“Such is the view I take of present affairs, and regarding them in this light, I deem it my urgent duty to call upon this honorable assembly seriously to direct its attention to the subject, and to devise means of averting the danger which threatens our country. We, to whom the nation has intrusted its present protection and her future security, can not and dare not stand idly by and shut our eyes upon events and their consequences, until our country is gradually deluged by a flood of evil. To prevent the evil is the task to which we are called ; and satisfied I am, that if we neglect our duty, we shall be responsible for the ill that may result from our neglect, in the sight of God, before the world, and to our own consciences. If, persisting in a perverse policy, we allow the opportunity for effecting a peaceable settlement to pass, and neglect to make the free and loyal sentiments of the representatives of this nation heard, we may repent it when the die has been irrevocably cast, when the embarrassment has proceeded so far as to leave us only the choice between an unconditional refusal, or sacrifices which no one can calculate ; but repentance will then come too late, and the favorable moment, which was allowed to pass in listless inaction, will be gone for ever. As a deputy

of this assembly, I, for one, will have no share in this responsibility, although, as a citizen of our country, I may be obliged to participate in the consequences of a tardy repentance."

It was the day after, March 3d, 1848, that the great head of the liberals moved his celebrated address to the throne. His speech had electrified the assembly. He had succeeded in transfusing his own fervent, enthusiastic spirit thoroughly into every listener. The address was adopted unanimously and by acclamation. It claimed a reduction of feudal burdens, with indemnity to those who should lose by the reduction. The taxes of all ranks and races were required to be equalized, and every Hungarian, of whatever tribe or tongue, made eligible to the highest offices and honors of the state. The representation was to be placed on a more comprehensive and equitable basis. And to secure these, and whatever further ameliorations might be desired, a native ministerial body was demanded, for the administration of public affairs. A portion of this celebrated address is as follows :

"One of the most important of our tasks is to alleviate the burdens of the peasantry in being called upon to quarter and provide for the soldiery. It is our belief that the political and administrative reform of the municipalities of the towns and the districts cannot be longer postponed, and we are likewise of opinion that the time has arrived when a larger extension of political rights ought to be granted to the people. The country has a right to expect measures to be carried out for raising our industrial resources, our commerce, and our agriculture. At the same time, the spirit of

our constitution requires free development under a true representative system, and the intellectual interests of the nation likewise demand support based upon freedom. Our military institutions require a thorough reform, corresponding to the character of the nation, and the collective interests of the different classes of its inhabitants,—a reform, the urgency of which is pressed upon us both by a regard to your majesty's throne and the safety of our country. We cannot longer consent to a postponement of the constitutional application of the state revenues of Hungary, and the rendering an exact account of the revenue and expenditure ; for without this information we can neither fulfill the duties which the constitution imposes upon us, of maintaining the splendor of your majesty's throne, nor meet the necessities of our country."

A committee was at once appointed, with Kossuth at its head, to repair to the emperor and obtain his consent to the demands of the Diet. The committee reached Vienna on the 15th of March, 1848, when they found the Austrian people themselves in arms against the government. Its chairman was lifted literally on the hands of the excited masses into the imperial palace. But what a scene was that ! On one side, the emperor, representing the imperial glories of five hundred years, with his glittering train of statesmen and soldiers — on the other, the poor advocate, lately a prisoner, with no weapon but his tongue and his cause, the cause of fifteen millions of freemen. Modestly, but firmly, he stated his demands ; the emperor hesitated ; the ministers and courtiers around smiled in scorn ; but the loud clamors of the people came up from the

streets, and the emperor granted all that was asked. Kossuth and his deputation returned, to tell the news to grateful Hungary, which, in the frenzy of its happiness, strewed his path with flowers, and sent up his name in the same breath which bore their praises to God. Universal joy reigned throughout the kingdom. Seldom had one man shone forth so proudly pre-eminent, as Kossuth through all this struggle. The new ministry was at once organized, with Count Louis Batthyani for president, and Louis Kossuth for minister of finance. The Diet proceeded to enact all the reforms that had been called for. By unanimous votes of both houses, the Diet not only established perfect equality of civil rights and public burdens among all classes, denominations and races, in Hungary and its provinces, and perfect toleration for every form of religious worship, but, with a generosity perhaps unparalleled in the history of nations, and which must extort the admiration even of those who may question the wisdom of the measure, the nobles of Hungary abolished their own right to exact either labor or produce in return for the lands held by urbarial tenure, and thus transferred to the peasants the absolute ownership, free and forever, of nearly half the cultivated land in the kingdom, reserving to the original proprietors of the soil such compensation as the government might award from the public funds of Hungary. More than five hundred thousand peasant families were thus invested with the absolute ownership of from thirty to sixty acres of land each, or about twenty millions of acres among them. With the concurrence of both countries, Hungary and Transylvania were united, and

their Diets, hitherto separate, were incorporated. The number of representatives which Croatia was to send to the Diet was increased from three to eighteen, while the internal institutions of that province remained unchanged, and Hungary undertook to compensate the proprietors for the lands surrendered to the peasants, to an extent greatly exceeding the proportion of that burden which would fall on the public funds of the province. The complaints of the Croats, that the Magyars desired to impose their own language upon the Slavonic population, were considered, and every reasonable ground of complaint removed. Corresponding advantages were extended to the other Slavonic tribes, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, except in so far as they were modified by these acts, remained unchanged. By virtue of the new constitution, the peasants of Servia, like those of Hungary, were raised to the rank of freemen and citizens of the state. A voluntary surrender of property was made to them. Their national existence was guaranteed by a free and independent municipal constitution. The Servian soldiers on the frontier had been, according to the despotic regulations of the frontier service, incapable of holding landed or any other immovable property ; they were ill-treated and whipped by the Austrian officers. The new constitution raised them from the lowest depths of misery. The Hungarians received them as friends and brethren, for the character of the Hungarians was at all times a stranger to national animosity and religious intolerance. The Servians were by no means blind to the advantages of their new institutions. They received them with exultation. The

colors of Hungary and Servia-fluttered together from their steeples. The Servian towns sent deputations to the Diet, to offer their thanks and congratulations.

The whole of these acts, passed in March, 1848, received the royal assent, which, on the 11th of April, the emperor personally confirmed at Presburg, in the midst of the Diet. He solemnly swore he would support the said laws, and cause them to be respected. These acts then became statutes of the kingdom, in accordance with which the new, responsible Hungarian ministry was formed, and commenced the performance of its duties, with the full concurrence of the emperor king, and the aid of the archduke palatine. The reforms which had been effected were gratefully received by the peasants, and with entire satisfaction by the whole population of Hungary.

Hungary, now standing on the foundation of her ancient rights, had the means to proceed in the path of justice, civilization and popular progress, and to heal the wounds which the oppressions of three hundred years had inflicted. But Ferdinand proved a worthy scion of the Hapsburgs. He was as treacherous as the worst of his predecessors. He began diligently to destroy the laws he had sworn to support. He commenced the most hateful system of duplicity to be met with in the annals of tyranny. A swarm of contemptible Austrian hirelings were sent into the more distant provinces of Hungary, to awaken rebellion. The Catholic prelacy of Hungary, who form a very wealthy, very bigoted, but not very learned body, have always been the most strenuous advocates of Protestant exclusion, and the staunch opponents of

any reformation in education, or any extension of liberty to the peasantry. With the archbishop, Rajachich, at their head, they were induced, with other venal members of the Servian aristocracy, to persuade the people that the late liberal measures of the Hungarians were intended to annihilate the Servian nationality and religion. Austrian gold was lavishly employed to instigate the Croatians to rise against the Magyars, although there was not the slightest shadow of a plea for such injury, the Slavonic races having been at last intrusted with all the constitutional rights and privileges so long withheld from them. Naturally enough, the events of the last two years could not be supposed to have eradicated a hatred of races which had existed for centuries. On this the Austrians calculated ; a civil war in Hungary, on whatever pretext, was what they aimed at, which might give them an excuse for intervening and extinguishing the liberties of that country. This was an audacious policy on their part, adopted when their tenure of power at home was in the highest degree endangered — likely, indeed, to be taken from them from hour to hour. But the extreme of danger prompts audacity. Where every thing was to be lost, all also, they thought, might be gained. They sent spies and emissaries among the Croatians, to stir them to civil warfare, and they found a fitting tool for their vile purposes in a popular idol called Jellachich, a sensual, vulgar braggadocio. He was appointed by the Austrian government, unexpectedly, ban of Croatia, a kind of viceroy. They had no right whatever to make this appointment without the concurrence of Hungary ; but the Hungarian Diet and

ministry, when it was made, with the most unsuspecting confidence, recognized Jellachich at once as ban. The first step of this Austrian emissary was to absorb all power in himself; to arrest all opposing magistrates, to talk loudly of liberty and equality, and to proclaim martial law against all men who held any friendly communion with the Magyars. Not satisfied with this, he convoked a so-called "parliament" of his creatures, and actually commenced a civil war, in opposition to Hungarian authority, and without the slightest tangible pretext. And how acted the Austrian government? Loudly and indignantly they repudiated all the acts of Jellachich : nay, they went further ; they declared that he had forfeited his viceroyalty ; they summoned him to lay down arms ; they pronounced him a traitor ! Secretly, all this while, they were in close intimacy with him ; he was acting throughout solely and exclusively by their directions ! Will such perfidy be credited ? The emperor, who was not yet prepared to have his designs known to the Hungarians, issued the following imperial manifesto, announcing that Jellachich, the creature so recently appointed ban, was deposed from all his offices and dignities :

PROCLAMATION.

"WE, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, as King of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, the Fifth, &c., we assure you, inhabitants of our kingdoms Croatia and Slavonia, of our sovereign grace, and issue the following manifesto :

"Croatians and Slavonians !

"Our paternal heart found warm satisfaction in the trust, that while, in compliance with the wishes of our

faithful nations, we extended the benefit of constitutional freedom over all our subjects, we thus bound the nations, intrusted by Providence to our care, to be grateful toward ourselves, and to adhere firmly to our throne. We trusted, at the same time, that the establishment of equal rights and liberties would encourage our people to brotherly union in the effort of general improvement, for which we had opened the largest field. With full reliance in these our intentions, we were painfully struck by the sad discovery that with you, in particular, our trustful expectations were frustrated.

“With you, Croatians and Slavonians! who, united to the crown of Hungary for eight centuries, shared all the fates of this country; you, Croatians and Slavonians, who owe to this very union the constitutional freedom, which alone among all Slavonic nations you have been enabled to preserve for centuries; we were doomed to be mistaken with you, who not only have shared in all the rights and liberties of the Hungarian constitution, but who, besides—in just recompense of your loyalty, until now stainlessly preserved—were lawfully endowed with peculiar rights, privileges, and liberties, by the grace of our illustrious ancestors, and who, therefore, possess greater privileges than any whosoever of the subjects of our sacred Hungarian crown. We were mistaken in you, to whom the last Diet of the kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies, according to our own sovereign will, granted full part in all the benefits of the enlarged constitutional liberties, and equality of rights. The legislation of the crown of Hungary has abolished feudal servitude, as

well with you as in Hungary ; and those among you who were subjected to the socage, have, without any sacrifice on their part, become free proprietors. The landed proprietors receive for their loss, occasioned by the abolition of socage, an indemnification, which you, with your own means, would be unable to provide. The indemnification granted on this account to your landed proprietors, will be entailed on our Hungarian crown estates with our sovereign ratification, and without any charge to yourselves.

“The right, also, of constitutional representation was extended to the people with you no less than in Hungary ; in consequence of which no longer the nobility alone, but likewise other inhabitants and the Military Frontier, take part by their representatives in the legislation common to all, as much as in the municipal congregations. Thus you can improve your immediate co-operation. Until now, the nobility contributed but little to the public expenses ; henceforward the proportional repartition of the taxes among all inhabitants is lawfully established, whereby you have been delivered from an oppressive charge. Your nationality and municipal rights, relative to which ill-intentioned and malicious reports have been spread with the aim of exciting your distrust, are by no means threatened. On the very contrary, both your nationality and your municipal rights are enlarged, and secured against any encroachment ; as not only the use of your native language is lawfully guaranteed to you forever in your schools and churches, but it is likewise introduced in the public assemblies, where the Latin has been habitual until now.

“Calumniators sought to make you believe that the Hungarian nation desired to suppress your language, or at least to prevent its further development. We ourselves assure you, that these reports are totally false, and that it is recognized with approbation, that you exert yourselves to develop and establish your own mother-tongue, renouncing the dead Latin language. The legislature is willing to support you in this effort, by providing adequately for your priests, to whom is intrusted the spiritual care of the soul, and the education of your children. For eight centuries you have been united to Hungary. During this whole time the legislature has ever dealt with due regard to your nationality. How could you, therefore, believe that the legislature, which guarded your mother-tongue for eight centuries, should now bear a hostile aversion to it?

“And notwithstanding all this, whereas the guarantee of your nationality, and the enlargement of your constitutional liberties, ought to have been greeted with ready acknowledgment, persons have been found among you, who, instead of the thankfulness, love and loyalty, which they owe to ourselves, have unfolded the standard of fanatical distrust; who represent the Hungarians as your enemies, and who use every means to disunite the two nations, namely, the very same who persecuted your fellow-citizens, and by intimidation which endangered personal safety, forced them to leave their own country, because they had attempted to enlighten you as to real truth. Our deep concern relative to these excitements, was heightened by the solitudes, lest perhaps the very man had given

up himself to this criminal sedition, whom we have overwhelmed by tokens of our royal bounty, and whom we had appointed as guardian of the law and security in your country. Our deep concern was heightened by the apprehension, that this man, abusing the position to which he had been raised by our bounty, had not corrected the notions of the falsely informed citizens, as he should have done ; but animated by party hatred, had still more inflamed the fanaticism ; yes, unmindful of his oath as a subject, had attempted encroachments against the union with Hungary, and, hereby, against the integrity of our holy crown and our royal dignity.

“Formerly, in Hungary and its dependencies, we administered the executive powers by our Hungarian chancery and home office, and in military concerns, by our council of war. To the orders issued in this way, the bans of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia were obedient, just as they were bound, in more remote times, to obey the orders of our Hungarian authorities, issued in a different manner and in different forms, according to the mode of administering our executive power, arranged by the Diet with our ratification.

“In consequence of the request addressed to us by our faithful States, and guided by our own free will, in the last Hungarian Diet we graciously sanctioned the law, according to which our beloved cousin, his imperial highness the Archduke Stephen, palatine of Hungary, was, during our absence from Hungary, declared our royal lieutenant, who as such had to administer the executive power by the hands of our Hungarian ministry, which we simultaneously had appointed,

intrusting it with all authority, which had rested before with the royal chancery, the home office, the treasury and the council of war.

"In spite of this, Baron Joseph Jellachich, whom we graciously favored with the appointment of ban of our kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Sclavonia, is accused as having the temerity to refuse this becoming obedience.

"We, the king of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, we, whose person is sacred to you, we tell you, Croatians and Slavonians, the law too is sacred, and must be considered so! We have sworn to the eternal King of all kings, that we ourselves shall preserve the integrity of our Hungarian crown, and of our constitution, and that we will no less ourselves obey the law, than we will have it obeyed by others.

"We will keep our royal oath. We are gracious to our loyal subjects, forbearing to the guilty who repent, but inexorably severe toward stubborn traitors. And we shall give over to avenging justice those who dare presumptuously to trifle with our royal oath. He who revolts against the law, revolts against our royal throne, which rests upon the law, and Baron Jellachich is accused, with his notorious adherents, of not only opposing the law, but persisting in his disobedience, regardless of the fatherly exhortations which we have addressed to him.

"The first care of our beloved cousin, the archduke palatine, and of our Hungarian ministry was, to call upon Baron Jellachich to explain himself in respect to your nationality, your rights, and your liberties; so that, as soon as possible—besides other measures—

the Croatian Congregation might be assembled, and those laws might thus be published, whose blessings we never intended to withhold from you, and that after this the ban should be publicly invested with his dignity; since before this installation he could not be considered as a legitimate office-holder.

“Notwithstanding our repeated orders to Baron Jellachich to comply with the summons of our royal lieutenant, and our Hungarian ministry, the baron is accused of having disobeyed, and of having by this disobedience exposed you to the dangers of anarchy. But as though it were not enough that the ban himself did not obey, he is accused of having called the lawful authorities to the same disobedience, and of having forced them, no less than the people itself, by violent means, to hostile demonstrations against Hungary.

“All of you must have witnessed the acts of which he is accused; all of you must have seen if he persecuted those, who wanted to keep the union of Croatia with Hungary unimpaired, if he deposed them arbitrarily from their offices, if he brought a trial by court-martial upon all those who did not do homage to his political views, and by this means compelled many families to flight and emigration. All of you must have seen if the ban prevented the lawfully appointed lord-lieutenants from entering upon their duties; if he violently seized the funds belonging to the treasury, and even employed our own troops to achieve this arbitrary deed.

“You must know if, without the Diet, at his own will, he charged you with new taxes, and without any authority strove to force the people to take up arms —

an act which we ourselves cannot authorize without the consent of the legislative power. You must be able to witness, if he allowed, that his notorious adherents incited the people by tales and by false reports relative to the Hungarians, as if they threatened your nationality ; if he allowed, that sedition was preached in illegal assemblies against the Hungarians ; that arbitrary appointments were made ; and that in consequence of the excitement occasioned by these proceedings, bloody conflicts, and plunder and murder have taken place in Hungary. You know the personal affront which has been perpetrated under the very eyes of the ban, against an illustrious member of our royal house, against our royal lieutenant, the archduke palatine, in the public place of Agram — a town which of late has repeatedly been the scene of illegalities. You must know it, if the ban punished the perpetrators of such deeds. It cannot be unknown to you, if he really refused obedience to our royal commissary, Baron Hrabovszky, our privy counselor, and lieutenant field-marshal, who has been appointed to re-establish public order and security.

“Moved by fatherly care for the welfare of our perhaps misled subjects, we tried the last means—to grant opportunity of personal defense to the accused, before we lent an ear to the complaints against him. We summoned Baron Jellachich, by our own autograph order, to retract the Croatian Congregation, which, without our sanction, and, therefore, in defiance of the law, he has illegally convoked for the fifth day of June of this year ; and we ordered him to appear personally before ourselves, in order to effect the

conciliation which is needed for re-establishing order in Croatia.

“But Jellachich has as little obeyed this our present command, as our former regulations, and has neither retracted the Congregation nor has he appeared before ourselves, at the appointed time. Thus stubborn disobedience to our sovereign command was added to so many complaints against Baron Jellachich. No other means was left, to relieve our royal authority from the injury of such behavior, and to uphold the laws, than to send our faithful privy counselor, lieutenant field-marshal Hrabovszky, as our royal commissary, to investigate those unlawful proceedings, and to open a law-suit against Baron Jellachich, and his possible accomplices ; and lastly, to deprive Baron Jellachich, until his perfect clearance, of all his dignities as ban, and of all military offices. I sternly exhort you to renounce all participation in seditions, which aim at a separation from our Hungarian crown, and under the same penalty I command all authorities to break off immediately all intercourse with Baron Jellachich, and those who may be implicated in the accusations against him, and to comply unconditionally with the orders of our royal commissary.

“Croatians and Slavonians ! We guarantee your nationality and your liberties, and the fulfillment of your just requests with our royal word ; therefore do not believe any seducing insinuations, with which one aims to misuse you for attaining unlawful ends, by which your country is to be given up to oppression and infinite misery.

“Listen to the well-wishing voice of your king

addressing you, as many as still are his faithful Croats and Slavonians.

“Herewith we summon every one to publish and spread this manifesto, according to his loyalty to our sovereign authority.

“Given in our town of Innspruck the tenth day of June, 1848. FERDINAND.”

This extraordinary proclamation was followed, on the 8th of July, by another document equally extraordinary. It is the royal speech, read by the archduke Stephen, in the name of the emperor Ferdinand, king of Hungary, at the opening of the Hungarian Diet :

“In the name, and as representative of our glorious reigning king, Ferdinand V., I hereby open the present Diet. The extraordinary circumstances in which the country has been placed, make it necessary to summon at once a meeting of the Diet, without waiting for the completion in detail of all the propositions and administrative measures which the responsible ministers of the crown were charged and directed by the past Diet to prepare and complete. Croatia rose in undisguised sedition ; in the districts of the Lower Danube, bands of armed rebels have broken the peace of the country, and while it is the sincere wish of his majesty to avoid a civil war, his majesty is, on the other hand, convinced that the assembled representatives of the nation will regard it as their first and chief duty to provide all the means required to restore the troubled tranquillity of the country, to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian realm, and maintain the sacred inviolability of the law. The defense of the country, and the state of the finances, will therefore form the chief subject toward

which, under these extraordinary circumstances, I call the attention of the assembled representatives. His majesty's responsible ministers will submit to you propositions relating to these points. His majesty entertains the confident hope that the representatives of the nation will adopt speedy and appropriate decisions on all matters connected with the safety and welfare of the country.

“His majesty has learned with deep feelings of regret and displeasure — although he in his hearty paternal wish for the happiness of this country, following solely the impulse of his own desire, sanctioned during the last Diet, by giving to them the royal assent, those laws which were necessary to the progress of the country to prosperity, under the demands of the time — yet that, especially in Croatia and on the Lower Danube, evil-disposed, rebellious agitators have excited the inhabitants of those countries, speaking different languages and holding different creeds, with false reports and terrorism to mutual hostility, and have driven them, under the calumnious representation that those laws were not then sanctioned out of the free will of his majesty, to oppose the ordinances of those laws and the legal authorities — that some even have gone so far in rebellion as to announce that their violent resistance to those decrees is for the good of the royal house, and takes place with the knowledge of his majesty.

“For the tranquilization of the inhabitants of those districts, of all tongues and creeds, I therefore hereby declare, under the special commission of his most gracious majesty our lord the king, in his name and as his representative, that his majesty is firmly resolved

to maintain intact, by his royal power, the integrity and inviolability of his crown against all attacks from without, and against all discord within the realm, and to assert and enforce at all times the laws he shall have sanctioned. And as his majesty will allow no one to curtail the freedom assured by the laws to the inhabitants of the country, his majesty expresses his displeasure with the daring conduct of all those who venture to assert that any illegal act or disobedience shown to the law can have taken place with his majesty's knowledge or in the interest of his royal house.

"The union of Transylvania with Hungary was sanctioned by his majesty, in part because he by that step fulfilled the earnest desire of his dearly beloved Hungarian and Transylvanian people, but also because the united countries will in future form a firmer support to the throne and to freedom. His majesty's ministers for Hungary will submit all the details respecting this already accomplished union, which remain for the consideration of the legislative body.

"With regard to foreign affairs ; in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the hostile troops of the king of Sardinia, and of other Italian powers, have attacked the army of his majesty, the war has not yet been brought to a close. With the other foreign powers, the peaceable relations have remained inviolate, and his majesty has the less doubt of their being maintained as he reckons it to be the highest duty of his government to neglect nothing which, without injury to the dignity of the throne, and the safety of his loyal subjects and their legitimate interests, may confirm a peaceable understanding with foreign powers ; and his

majesty has a right to hope that as he adheres to the principles of neutrality as regards the internal affairs of other countries, this neutrality will be responded to on the part of foreign countries in equal measure. His majesty does not doubt that the Diet, in the combined interests of the throne and of constitutional freedom, will order, without delay, all that the welfare of the country so urgently demands.

"I only fulfill the demands of his majesty, when I assure the Diet, and the whole loyal nation, of the gracious disposition entertained toward them by our illustrious lord, the king."

The foregoing manifesto and speech merit the most attentive perusal. In censuring the Croats Ferdinand condemned himself, for he had incited and was treacherously stimulating their rebellion — a rebellion which he designed to use as an instrument for the destruction of the Hungarian constitution, which he had sworn to preserve, and for the overthrow of the institutions which he had solemnly guaranteed. No efforts were taken to arrest Jellachich, or to deter him from continuing his military preparations. On the contrary, Ferdinand sent money and arms to Jellachich, and the most experienced officers of the Austrian army joined his standard. The unsuspecting Hungarians at last became conscious that their faithless king was aiding in the preparations to deluge Hungary with blood, that he might destroy the liberties which he had so recently granted.

Meanwhile the communications between the Hungarian and Austrian ministers became more and more unsatisfactory. The language of the Austrian ministers

daily assumed a far more imperative tone. They declared ominously that they were "preparing an official document, in which they would so fully clear up their relation to Hungary, as to enable their Diet to form a correct view on the subject." When, on the 9th of September, a committee of the Hungarian Diet presented to the king the bills that had been passed by his direction, to raise troops and money to suppress the rebellion of the Croats, they addressed him in the following language :

"In the names of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania we appear before your Majesty. With our constant loyalty, tried for centuries, we claim the support of our crowned king for the inviolate preservation of the rights of the country.

"A Ferdinand was the first of your Majesty's house, on whose brow Hungary placed voluntarily its holy crown—Transylvania did the same for Leopold I. Hungary is not a conquered province: it is a free country, whose constitutional rights and independence your Majesty has secured and sealed by the inaugural oath. The laws which your Majesty, on the 11th of April of this year, sanctioned with your benignant approbation, only fulfilled the long cherished wishes of the Hungarian nation. With gratitude and with a vigor doubled by the extension of freedom, this nation was ready, with unaltered attachment, to shield the throne of your Majesty against the dangers which from more than one side threatened it.

"But now several parts of the kingdom are disturbed by a rebellion, whose leaders plainly assert that they rise in the interest of the reigning house, and are

rebels in your Majesty's name, against the freedom and independence, which your Majesty lawfully guaranteed to the Hungarian nation.

"One part of the Hungarian army sheds its blood in Italy, for the interests of the monarchy, and reaps there, on every battle-field, laurels of triumph ; while another part of the same army is being instigated to refuse obedience to the legal government of the kingdom.

"This sedition in the lower parts of Hungary is reducing peaceful villages to ashes, and causing the massacre of innocent children and women in a more than barbarous manner. At the same time, a rebellion from Croatia threatens Hungary with hostile invasion, and, without any cause, has occupied the Hungarian port of Fiume, and the Slavonian counties. The moving power of these seditions can be no other than the attempt of a reactionary party to destroy the consistency and integrity of Hungary, to annihilate the freedom of the nation, and to cancel the laws sworn to by the ancestors of your Majesty and by your Majesty yourself.

"Called upon by your Majesty to provide for the defense of the country, the Hungarian Diet assembled two months ago. This Diet now requests your Majesty to support it with the whole weight of your sovereign authority in the grand task of preserving the country unimpaired, which is identical with the unimpaired preservation of the throne itself. * * *

"Sire! the present moments are of so weighty an importance to the Hungarian constitution, that the loyal nation must dread more than ever, the dangers of delay.

“With the loyalty of faithful subjects we, therefore, entreat your Majesty to comply with our requests, and most especially to come to Hungary without deferring. We entreat this, with so much more energy, as we are deeply convinced of the pernicious effects of delay. If our entreaties are disregarded, the public trust will be shaken in the Hungarian ministry of your Majesty, and the ministry will thus be paralyzed in the application of lawful means, to uphold order and restore peace.

“On the immediate decision of your Majesty it depends to avert incalculable dangers. May your Majesty support us with the weight of your sovereign authority, and thus assist the deliverance of the country! and the Hungarian nation will ever faithfully stand by the throne of your Majesty.”

The emperor in reply said he would “sacredly preserve the laws he had sworn to, and maintain the integrity of the country;” but he made a paltry excuse for not signing the bill presented for his sanction. September 4th, six days before he made this reply to the Hungarian deputation, he wrote a letter to Jellachich, thanking him for the “indubitable proofs of fidelity and attachment which he had repeatedly displayed since he had been named ban of Croatia.” Still further proof that the ban was acting in compliance with the commands of the perjured emperor, are the letters received from Jellachich by the Austrian minister of war, Count Latour. In the first, dated September 24th, he says: “Grateful as I am to your Excellency for the gracious care shown in furnishing another supply of money, I must still repeat to your Excellency my request for the dispatch, with the least possible delay, of

a sufficient sum to defray the expenses of our ensuing field operations.

"I am now with my troops in Hungarian territory, in order to act for the general cause of Austria; without a bleeding heart I cannot lay upon the partly innocent people any greater burdens than the passage of so considerable a force necessarily inflicts. Moreover, without the necessary funds, I cannot advance a step farther, as I must partially preserve the friendly disposition of the country people, as well as that of the soldiers, which is not possible without money, and a punctual payment of their dues.

"A detailed statement of the amount needed, I cannot send, as, owing to the daily increasing number of my army, and the fact that the junction with the Slavonic corps has not yet been effected, it is impossible to make one with exactness, since the demand for money depends on those circumstances. But according to my estimate, the amount of pay for the month of October will be above 200,000 florins, and the rations, &c., 400,000 — making, in all, 600,000 florins. And I take leave respectfully to beg your Excellency to put this sum at my disposition, through reliable means, by the 1st proximo, at farthest. I ask this, because in the struggle now begun for the good cause of Austria, I reckon on all possible help from the imperial-royal ministry, and have the right to reckon thereon. Besides, it is all the less possible for me to be neglected by that excellent body, that I am now amid the Hungarian territory, and it would have the most terrible consequences for the country, the army, and the entire monarchy of Austria. As soon as the junction takes

place, I shall not delay however in sending the detailed statement."

In another letter he says : "The Magyars fill all with their own fanaticism, and have so carried away the Hungarian troops that the hope that troops of the line would not fight against us, is not confirmed. I can not deny that I revolt at the thought of pointing my cannon at hussars. By it a split will be produced in the army, perhaps forever. Therefore, if it is the intention to publish the manifesto, let it be done at once, so that a fatal delay shall not again occur.

* * * * "Dear friend, I had the definite promise that so soon as my troops had entered Hungary, they should receive the regular pay and rations from the imperial treasury. The hope of a powerful moral support was also given me.

* * * * "Great masses are concentrating between Pesth and Stuhlweissenburg. These are, however, of not much account. As I have already said, the bitter duty is to fire on imperial troops. The Hungarian regiments are marching into the country and the Germans out, and those [of the latter] who are still here do not know what to do. They are in a painful position. Let them at once be snatched from it, and all is gained. So, dear friend, *money!* and what is more important, a decided declaration!"

For a time, Ferdinand had found it necessary to deceive the Hungarians in regard to his encouragement of the rebellion headed by Jellachich. Thus the ban had an abundant opportunity to complete his preparations. He organized an army of 60,000 men, which it was thought could sweep through Hungary and subdue

the people. The officers of the Hungarian army were in the pay of Austria, and were instructed to render only an inefficient resistance to the Croats. Jellachich entered Hungary early in September. No doubt was entertained of his speedy and complete success. Ferdinand threw off the mask of shameless falsehood, which no longer concealed his designs against Hungary. On the 3d of October he issued a decree dissolving the Hungarian Diet—annulling its laws—subjecting the country to martial law—pronouncing all political meetings treasonable—and constituting Jellachich civil and military governor of Hungary with absolute power! He said: “In consequence of these our sovereign letters patent, we declare that whatsoever the ban of Croatia shall order, regulate, determine, and command, is to be considered as ordered, regulated, determined, and commanded by our royal authority. In consequence of which, we likewise by this, graciously give command to all our ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities, officers, and high dignitaries of our kingdom of Hungary, its dependencies, and Transylvania, as well as to all their inhabitants, that all the orders signed by Baron Jellachich, as our legal royal commissioner, shall be by them obeyed, and enforced, in the same way as they are bound to obey our royal Majesty.”

CHAPTER V.

KOSSUTH THE STATESMAN.

AUSTRIA was at war with Hungary. With deliberate ferocity Ferdinand had matured his infamous conspiracy against Hungarian nationality. This policy was as suicidal as it was selfish and sanguinary. When Ferdinand confirmed the liberties of the Hungarians, their hereditary loyalty burst forth in a clear flame. They stood firmly by the house of Hapsburg. Hungary had more than once upheld their tottering throne — had more than once shown itself to be the right hand of Austria. If Ferdinand had been faithful to his solemn pledges, the Austrian empire would have been impregnable, and Hungary a prosperous and happy state. But Ferdinand had not the wisdom to comprehend, nor the patriotism to adopt a just policy. He was not willing to rule Hungary and Austria in different capacities. At Vienna he was emperor, and absolute : at Presburg, a king, and his authority limited by the constitution. The characters of an imperial tyrant and the monarch of a free people were incompatible. Formerly every state in the Austrian dominions had a constitution. But in the course of three hundred years the Hapsburgs had wrung them from all but Hungary. It was their fixed policy to destroy that also. The determined resistance made to

the plans of Ferdinand was not anticipated. These plans were so well matured, that it was supposed the Hungarians would yield without a struggle. The decree appointing Jellachich civil and military governor of Hungary, was issued in the belief that its execution would not be opposed.

Although betrayed, the Hungarians were undaunted. Their bravery was equal to their perils. What was done can best be told in the eloquent words of Kossuth on a recent occasion : " It became my share, being then a member of the ministry, with undisguisable truth to lay before the parliament of Hungary the immense danger of our bleeding father-land. Having made the sketch, which, however dreadful, could be but a feeble shadow of the horrible reality, I proceeded to explain the terrible alternative which our fearful destiny left to us, after the failure of all our attempts to evade the evil — to present the neck of the nation to the deadly stroke aimed at its very life, or to bear up against the horrors of fate, and manfully to fight the battle of legitimate defense. Scarcely had I spoken the words, scarcely had I added that the defense would require 200,000 men and 80,000,000 florins, when the spirit of freedom moved through the hall, and nearly four hundred representatives rose as one man, and lifting their right arms toward God, solemnly swore, ' We grant it ; freedom or death ! ' There they stood, with uplifted arms, in calm and silent majesty, awaiting what further words might fall from my lips. And for myself, sure it was my duty to speak ; but the grandeur of the moment and the rushing waves of sentiment benumbed my tongue. A burning tear fell from my eye, and a

sigh of adoration to Almighty God fluttered on my lips ; and bowing low before the majesty of my people as I bow now before you, gentlemen, I left the tribune, silently, speechless, mute. Pardon me my emotion, gentlemen ; the shadows of our martyrs, whose names I see here, pass before my eyes, and I hear the millions of my nation once more shout, 'Freedom or death !' " Kossuth also addressed a spirit-stirring appeal to the nation. After reminding his countrymen of the truth of his former predictions, he proceeded in the following sublime language :

" Hear ! patriots, hear ! The eternal God doth not manifest himself in passing wonders, but in everlasting laws. It is an eternal law of God's, that whosoever abandoneth himself will be of God forsaken. It is an eternal law that whosoever assisteth himself, him will the Lord assist. It is a divine law that false swearing is by its results self-chastised. It is a law of God's that he who resorteth to perjury and injustice, prepareth his own shame and the triumph of the righteous cause. In firm reliance upon these eternal laws — on these laws of the universe — I aver that my prophecy will be fulfilled, and I foretell that this invasion of Jellachich's will work out Hungary's liberation. In the name of that father-land, betrayed so basely, I charge you to believe my prophecy, and it will be fulfilled. In what consists Jellachich's power ? In a material force, seemingly mighty, of seventy thousand followers, but of which thirty thousand are furnished by the regulations of the military frontier. But what is in the rear of this host ? By what is it supported ? There is nothing to support it ! Where is the population that

cheers it with unfeigned enthusiasm? There is none. Batu-Chan deluged our country with his hundreds of thousands. He devastated, but he could not conquer. Jellachich's host at worst will prove a locust-swarm, incessantly lessening in its progress till destroyed. So far as he advances, so far will be diminished the number of his followers, never destined to behold the Drave again. Let us — Hungarians — be resolved, and stones will suffice to destroy our enemy. This done, it will be time to speak of what further shall befall. But every Hungarian would be unworthy of the sun's light if his first morning thought, and his last thought at eve, did not recall the perjury and treason with which his very banishment from the realms of the living has been plotted. Thus the Hungarian people have two duties to perform. The first, to rise in masses, and crush the foe invading her paternal soil. The second, to remember! If the Hungarian should neglect these duties, he will prove himself dastardly and base. His name will be synonymous with shame and wickedness. So base and dastardly as to have himself disgraced the holy memory of his forefathers — so base, that even his Maker shall repent having created him to dwell upon this earth — so accursed that air shall refuse him its vivifying strength — that the corn-field, rich in blessings, shall grow into a desert beneath his hand — that the refreshing well-head shall dry up at his approach! Then shall he wander homeless about the world, imploring in vain from compassion the dry bread of charity. The race of strangers for all alms will smite him on the face. Thus will do that stranger-race, which seeks in his own land to degrade him into the

outcast, whom every ruffian with impunity may slay like the stray dog — which seeks to sink him into the likeness of that Indian pariah, whom men pitilessly hound their dogs upon in sport to worry. For the consolations of religion he shall sigh in vain. The craven spirit by which creation has been polluted will find no forgiveness in this world, no pardon in the next. The maid to whom his eyes are raised shall spurn him from her door like a thing unclean ; his wife shall spit contemptuously in his face ; his own child shall lisp its first word out in curses on its father. Terrible ! terrible ! but such the malediction, if the Hungarian race proves so cowardly as not to disperse the Croatian and Servian invaders, ‘as the wild wind disperses the unbound sheaves by the wayside.’ But no, this will not be ; and, therefore, I say the freedom of Hungary will be achieved by this invasion of Jellachich. Our duty is to triumph first, then to remember. To arms ! every man to arms ; and let the women dig a deep grave between Veszprem and Fehervar, in which to bury the name, fame and nationality of Hungary, or our enemy. And either on this grave will rise a banner, on which shall be inscribed, in record of our shame, ‘Thus God chastiseth cowardice !’ or we will plant thereon the tree of liberty, everlastingly green, and from out whose foliage shall be heard the voice of the Most High, saying, as from the fiery bush to Moses, ‘The spot on which thou standest is holy ground.’ All hail ! to Hungary, for her freedom, happiness and fame. He who has influence in a county, he who has credit in a village, let him raise his banner. Let there be heard upon our boundless plains no music but the solemn

strains of the Rakoczy march. Let him collect ten fifty, a hundred, a thousand followers — as many as he can gather, and marshal them to Veszprem. Veszprem, where, on its march to meet the enemy, the whole Hungarian people shall assemble, as mankind shall be assembled on the judgment day.”

The spirit of Kossuth rose as the danger became more imminent; the perils of the moment waked at once his strength and eloquence, and reliance upon the people. He went down to the plain of Hungary, and there preached the war for the constitution, and against the imperial treason, as a holy war. Never before had such speech been heard. The enthusiasm spread; the people flocked by thousands to the standard; volunteers set out even from Vienna; the entire people of Pesth swarmed to Veszprem; mere lads came, and old men of sixty came — came with knives, scythes, hatchets; for ten days they gathered to the battle-field; they were undrilled, unofficered, untaught in war; a force so ill-equipped scarce ever stood in face of an enemy; but they were earnest, fearless, and, inspired by the eloquence of Kossuth, were impatient for battle.

On the 9th of September Jellachich entered Hungary at the head of an army of forty thousand men. They were well armed and appointed, and were abundantly supplied with artillery and ammunition. They were reinforced by six divisions of Austrian regulars. He marched toward the capital, his troops everywhere committing the most wanton and savage acts. The inhabitants were murdered without distinction of age or sex. The helplessness of neither childhood nor old age were any protection against their fiendish assaults.

They bored out the eyes of some, and cut off the flesh of others in strips. Some were roasted on spits, while others were buried up to their necks in the ground, and left to be devoured by hawks and swine. Women with unborn babes were the subjects of special atrocities, for they were murdered by blows which also pierced the offspring yet resting beneath their bosoms.

This barbarous conduct excited the Hungarian peasantry almost to frenzy. They hovered around the outskirts of the ban's army, and cut off small bodies of troops. Sometimes in bands of three or four hundred they battled fiercely against the invaders. But as the officers of the Hungarian army had been purposely selected from among those who could be relied upon to act in accordance with the wishes of Ferdinand, no effective resistance was made until Jellachich had arrived within a day's march of Pesth. September 29th, General Moga, with less than fifteen thousand men, defeated him at Velentze. Had the Hungarians at that time possessed a resolute leader, the career of Jellachich would have ended at Velentze. The hussars besought their officers for permission to annihilate the treacherous enemy ; the enthusiasm of the volunteers, after this first success, rose to the highest pitch ; the armed peasantry were ready to cut off the enemy in their flight, man by man. Jellachich begged for a truce of three days, which was generously granted him, but he did not employ it for the purpose of negotiating a peace. He broke his treaty and his word, and fled to Vienna. The undisciplined volunteers raised by Kossuth, followed the fugitive ban, and captured twelve thousand men, twelve field-pieces, and two

general officers. Thus terminated the invasion of Jellachich, who had boasted that on a certain day he would enter Buda and drive the Diet from the country.

On the 5th of October, an Austrian battalion in Vienna, was commanded by the emperor to march into Hungary to aid the army of Jellachich. The populace was greatly excited. The war between the Croats and Hungarians had become a war between Austria and Hungary. A public meeting was held in the Odeon, a building capable of holding ten thousand persons. It was addressed by a Dr. Tausenan. In his speech he depicted the Croats as the murderers of freedom, and called upon the Viennese to resist courageously, in case Jellachich should dare to advance. At the same time the orator remonstrated against the unlawful proceeding of the Austrian ministry, which, without consulting the Diet, had conveyed support to Jellachich. This speech was applauded by ten thousand persons, who dispersed without any disturbance of public order. Meanwhile, however, the grenadiers in the taverns were discussing the matter over their beer, and generally reasoned thus: "That it was unjust to send them away against the Hungarians; that the Hungarians were at war with Jellachich, but not with the emperor; that they, themselves, had nothing to do with the quarrels of Croats and Hungarians." Such sentiments were backed and encouraged by the students and national guards, who had entered the taverns; and the reluctance of the soldiers was farther confirmed by the accident, that the particular battalion which had been ordered to march, was very popular among the Viennese. The following day the battalion,

commanded to march into Hungary, complied unwillingly, and arrived near the railroad on which it was to proceed, with cries of "The Hungarians are our brothers, not our foes! What have we to do with the Croats?" In company with them walked national guards, partly without arms, partly armed. On the embankment of the railway, close to the Danube, still larger crowds were assembled of national guards, students and workmen. Some of these broke down an arch of the Taber bridge, and thus hindered the departure of the soldiers. The excitement was extraordinary. The order to march was renewed, and several companies of fresh troops arrived in haste to enforce obedience. The crowd were summoned to disperse, but did not comply. The troops fired upon them and many persons were killed. The citizens returned the fire, and a contest ensued which did not terminate until the streets of Vienna were drenched with blood. The people triumphed, and the emperor fled from his capital. But the Viennese did not follow up their victory. While the Hungarians and Viennese were debating whether they should act in concert, Prince Windischgratz arrived before Vienna with unlimited power from the emperor. Kossuth approached the boundary between Hungary and Austria with twelve thousand troops, whom he had aroused to the utmost enthusiasm by his glowing eloquence. A large portion of the officers, however, were averse to advancing to the aid of the Viennese. They wished to act solely on the defensive. But Kossuth said: "Though Hungary stood in no connection with Vienna, yet it is a duty of honor to hasten to the aid of the Viennese, as they

have risen in opposition to the war against Hungary. If we win a battle, it will decide the fate of the Austrian monarchy and of all Germany ; if we lose one, it will not discourage the nation, but will spur it to the greater sacrifices. But to be passive at the very threshold of the scene of action, would lower the Hungarians with foreign countries, and in the country itself enthusiasm would cool." This reasoning prevailed ; but the decision was made too late. Windischgratz had already taken Vienna, and approached the Hungarians with over seventy thousand regular troops. The Hungarian army did not amount to half that number. Commanded by General Moga, they fought gallantly, desperately ; but after great slaughter were defeated. General Moga resigned the command, and was succeeded by Arthur Gorgey.

An Austrian officer, who was engaged in the battle, mentions the following touching occurrence : " Among the many incidents of this day, one scene is vividly present to my view. A very young Hungarian lad, evidently belonging to the nobility of the country, was engaged in a fight with two of the cavalry. He continued to turn his superb horse about with such dexterity, that his antagonists, on their heavy beasts, could not get at him, while he had dealt many blows, which it is true, mostly fell harmless upon the breast-armor and helmet. At last, one of the horsemen, waiting for a proper moment, prepared for a thrust with his saber, and the broad, pointed blade was driven with such force into the breast of the youth, that he fell lifeless from his horse, without uttering a single sound. What maternal heart may mourn for him ? What bright eye

may be filled with tears for his loss. His horse, with blood-stained saddle, ran snorting away, and could not be caught: his rider we afterward buried. He had about him nothing but a handsome gold watch, and a ring with hair, which I bought for a couple of ducats."

Windischgratz entered Hungary on the 16th of December. Kossuth made one more attempt to avoid the calamities of war, well aware that the struggle could only end either with the fall of Hungary or the overthrow of the Hapsburg dynasty. Windischgratz, successful at every point, and expecting an easy conquest of the country, refused to see the deputation sent to him, but kept them as prisoners. This fully aroused the Hungarians. Henceforward it was a duty to persevere and hold out to the last. Kossuth did not for a moment lose his confidence or abate his energy. He began thoroughly to organize and discipline the army. Although the Hungarian leaders were meeting with defeat in nearly every quarter, his eloquence won volunteers by thousands, so that it was said "that where-soever he stamped his foot there sprang up a soldier." But not only had he to find men; there were no arms: he established foundries and forges. There was no powder, no sulphur in the kingdom: he had it made from the black jack of the copper mines, and so set powder-mills to work. He employed all the tailors and shoemakers of the land, on uniforms and boots for the army; and by his own resolution encouraged the Diet and the whole country. Battalion after battalion was drilled, and in these preparations the time was spent until the middle of March. Meanwhile several battles were fought, some of which were defeats, some

doubtful for the Hungarians, and Transylvania fell entirely into the hands of the Austrians. Kossuth appointed Klapka to the command of the northern army, Bem to that of Transylvania, where the danger was most imminent. Simultaneously with the insurrection among the Croats, Austrian hirelings were sent into Transylvania to awaken discontent. At last came the period deemed appropriate for unconcealed action. Its signal was, the attack of Jellachich against Hungary. General Puchner, on the 16th of September, issued a proclamation, in which he desired all the civil officers of Transylvania to renounce the oath, which they had taken to the Hungarian constitution, and support him in his opposition to it. At the same time a Wallachian levy was organized, armed, and provided with Austrian officers, to use force against all those who by the 18th of October should not have declared themselves willing to join in the design. The proclamation to this purpose was sent to the superior authorities. A party of twelve hundred men, with their wives and children, who were proceeding to the town of Enyed for protection, were overtaken by a lawless troop of armed Wallachs. Unwilling to oppose those who pretended to be acting in the name of the king, the emigrants assented to deliver up their arms on condition that they might proceed to Enyed. In the night the Wallachs sent to the commander to inquire what they would do "with their prisoners." The messenger returned with the laconic reply, "Put the wretches to death." The morning of the subsequent day found the unfortunate families encircled by the Wallachs. An anxious expectation reigned. When the peremptory order of

murder arrived, the riotous people themselves were thunderstruck, and for a long while no one attempted to break the pledge of a free passage. Both parties hesitated for some instants to take any decided step; at last the disarmed set themselves in motion. Slowly the procession advanced until some circumstance was considered by the Wallachs a signal to attack. Now followed a horrifying scene. One part of the disarmed were cudgeled to death, others pierced through with pointed mountain-sticks. Some, hanged on trees, were mangled with hay-forks; others, thrown into pits, were buried under blocks rolled down upon them. Women and maidens were mutilated and murdered in the most dreadful manner. The slaughter lasted long. Rainbold, the inspector of Zalatyna, to whom clung his wife, and two daughters, not seeing any possibility to avert their dreadful fate, drew out his pistols, which, more distrustful than his companions, he had retained, and shot his two daughters, his wife, and himself. The haste, and the excitement in which he achieved this awful deed, rendered his hand unsteady, and his wife survived this horrible catastrophe. Of twelve hundred persons, about one hundred remained wounded among the bodies of their comrades. Of these survivors about seventy or eighty, most of them women, one the wife of the judge, with bleeding wounds, dragged themselves before the gates of the fortress of Karlsburg. But the commander of this place, which was occupied by Austrian troops, drove the exhausted victims with blows from the gates, where, after having been refused entrance, they had sunk powerless to the ground. Similar horrors were committed in more than one part of

Transylvania. Enyed was burnt and ravaged. In the county of Zarand, many proprietors were murdered. The family of Brady was utterly extirpated. Baroness Mikes was barbarously killed, with her infants. The cruelties, perpetrated by the Wallachs, were so unprecedented, that even Puchner was in despair at the massacres he had occasioned ; but the agitation could no longer be ruled.

When Bem arrived in Transylvania, except a few unimportant villages and a strong pass, the whole country was in the hands of the Austrians. Three-fourths of the inhabitants—the Wallachs and Saxons—were hostile to the Hungarian cause. Their brutal excesses, while they had intimidated the Magyar population, had made them more stubborn in their enmity, from the belief that no pardon could be granted to such heinous crimes. The Transylvanian army, not exceeding in numbers 12,500, and of whom not more than 7,000 were armed and fit for service—discouraged by defeat, mistrustful of its leaders, without clothing, without pay, and often without food ; exposed to all the hardships of an early and severe winter ; officered principally by men who had never worn a sword before the last month or two, and most of whom were very young ; almost without cavalry, and with artillerymen who had never fired a gun—was in about as poor a condition as an army could well be. The Austrians, on the contrary, had a regular army of at least 15,000 men, well clothed and fed, led by experienced officers in whom they had full confidence ; furnished with fine, well drilled cavalry, and an ample corps of artillery ; holding a strong fortress, and furnished with abundant

stores and supplies of arms. The Austrians, too, possessed the immense advantage of being in a friendly country, in Transylvania, and having not less than 100,000 armed peasants at their disposal, who, if they were but of little use on the field of battle, were fully capable of impeding the communications of the enemy — by murdering their couriers, cutting off supplies, acting as spies, and performing those thousand other services which a friendly population can render to an army. At the end of three months from this time, Bem had driven the whole Austrian army, except the garrison of Karlsburg, out of the country, as well as 10,000 Russians who had been sent to help them. He had raised troops, and equipped them, till his army numbered nearly 50,000 men, of whom 30,000 were well armed; and he possessed cannon and ammunition in abundance. A manufactory of small-arms was established in Klausenburg. His clemency had completely gained him the confidence and affection even of his enemies; while it had never for a moment led to suspicion of him on the part of his friends. Although a strict disciplinarian, he was positively adored by his troops, in spite of his inability to speak a word to them in a language they understood. They never spoke of him, or to him, but as "Father Bem." Of a sanguine disposition, Bem often gave utterance to hopes and promises which, in the mouth of another, would have been empty boastings; in his, they were but the expressions of vivid hope, supported by the most undaunted resolution, and a confidence in his own powers, which, if it sometimes led him into misfortune, more frequently forced open a path to victory,

Before Bem left Pesth, he told the committee of safety, that with these seven thousand men, he would, in a fortnight, invade Transylvania ;—would first defeat Wardener, and take Dees, the key of the country, and after that, Kolosvar. When he had achieved this, he would pursue and chase away Urban, from the Wallach districts next to the Bukovina ; and as soon as he had thus effected a junction with the faithful Szekelys, he would drive the Austrians out of the Saxon land at the point of the bayonet. The members of the committee were glad to see that Bem was so sanguine about his difficult task ; but they could not help taking his words for rhodomontade, which could not be exactly calculated upon. No one believed that the great General would not only keep his word most brilliantly, but achieve much more than he had ever promised.

Major Cretz, an officer who served under Bem in Transylvania, gives the following description of his appearance : “ Bem’s outward man is any thing but imposing. A rather short but well proportioned figure, an oval, Polish cast of countenance, a short snub-nose, a scar on the right cheek, which had been left by a pistol shot, an ordinary mouth and forehead, his hair gray and thin, a stick in his hand, on which he rests as he drags his right leg, with its three wounds, after him, and his, consequently, limping gait—take this, and cover it with the best Honved uniform which came in his way, and you have the portrait of Bem, as he first received the officers of the army of Transylvania at Szilagy-Somlyo ; and in truth, under this guise, none of us had discovered the hero who was to lead us from victory to victory ; and who, with such genius, was to

unfold to us the mysteries of the art of war. It required, indeed, nothing less than a proclamation from Kossuth himself, before the army could be brought to trust the well tried hero of Ostrolenka. Bem, however, cast his bright, searching eye, burning with the heavenly spark of genius, along our ranks, and in comprehensible though very Polish German, gave utterance to his thoughts in these terms : ‘ Gentlemen, I require the strictest obedience ; whoever disobeys will be punished : I know how to reward, but I know how to punish, too. You may leave.’ We all stood, dumb-struck, before the little man, for we felt that we had to do with no ordinary person, but with a tried soldier, who was not to be trifled with.”

It can scarcely be uninteresting to the reader to know something of the previous life of one who now played so great a part. Joseph Bem was born at Tarnow, in Gallicia, in 1795. He was descended of a respectable family inhabiting the towns of Cracow and Tarnow, and known in Poland for nearly four centuries. His father was a barrister of some eminence. Bem was intended for the profession of his father, and was sent to Cracow to pursue his studies in the university, but the triumphal entry of Poniatowsky in 1809, after his defeat of the Austrians, is said so completely to have fascinated the young Pole, that his father consented to his desire to become a soldier, and transferred him to the military school at Warsaw. Bem passed from this school, where he had greatly distinguished himself, into the artillery, and we find him at the opening of the French campaign of 1812, against Russia as a lieutenant. In 1819, he was promoted to

the rank of captain, and appointed professor in the school of artillery at Warsaw.

On the publication of some regulations regarding the military school, alike degrading to the professors and students, Bem protested warmly, and, finding his protest unheeded, he resigned his professorship, and incurred the implacable hatred of the Archduke Constantine. This half idiot and half madman now persecuted, without intermission, the man who had dared to resist his wishes. From 1820 to 1826, Bem was three times tried by court-martial, was three times imprisoned, and twice suspended from duty. On the accession of the present emperor, Bem applied for his discharge from the service, which he at last obtained. He then repaired to Lemberg, in Austrian Poland, where he occupied himself in the composition of a work on mechanics, of which only one volume, "On the Steam Engine," has been as yet published. The revolution of 1830 broke in upon Bem's studies, and called him once more into active life. He hastened to Warsaw, received his commission as major, and took the command of the horse artillery in the revolutionary army. At the battle of Iganie, Bem proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. The ability with which he employed his sixteen field-pieces against the forty guns of the enemy, was mainly instrumental in securing the victory, and gained him the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The battle of Ostrolenka, however, was Bem's masterpiece, and justly gained him the title of the hero of that bloody day. The Polish army under Skrynecki was defeated, and the Russians, 80,000 strong, in full pursuit. The Russian

army at length forced a passage of the bridge over the river Narew, and were crossing it in large masses, when Bem galloped up with a battery of horse artillery, took up a position in front of the storming columns, and poured in such a destructive fire, that he kept the entire army in check long enough to allow the Polish forces to draw off and retreat in order, when, without this assistance, their total destruction was inevitable. Bem, now raised to the rank of colonel, and soon after to that of general, was occupied with providing a supply of arms from the manufactory at Warsaw, and with the formation of an effective corps of artillery. But the Polish struggle was approaching its close.

On the capitulation of Warsaw, Bem took refuge in France. In 1833 he accepted service in the Portuguese army, but failed in inducing the Polish refugees to follow him, and, after the expiration of the term of his engagement, returned to Paris. At Bourges he was fired at by one of his countrymen, while obtaining enlistments for this expedition; and had it not been for a five franc piece in his waistcoat pocket, which turned the ball, his career would have ended here. Bem was never inactive. He now published a historical and statistical work on each of the provinces of Poland. After considerable opposition, he succeeded in introducing into the public institutions of Paris a system of mnemonics used in Poland, and much improved by him; and in 1842 he visited England with the hope of establishing it there. He succeeded to a certain extent, and it is still used in some of the schools of London. While in England, Bem visited Birmingham to inquire into the manufacture of arms; for he was constantly

preparing for the day he still hoped to witness, when he could again fight for Poland's freedom ; and he knew from experience, that without good arms, nothing could be done. He spent some time also at Oxford, in the hope of obtaining encouragement for his system of mnemonics, but did not succeed. All that is recollected of Bem in Oxford has been condensed in a letter to a daily paper : " An individual of that name had been observed in the streets of Oxford ; he was pale, thin and emaciated, scarcely five feet high, limping to and fro amidst the stately gothic walls of the colleges."

In April, 1848, Bem published " A letter from a Pole to the statesmen of Great Britain on the present commercial and financial crisis ;" pointing out the injury inflicted by Russia on British commerce, the opening for its trade which a free Poland might offer, and the immense stores of grain which would insure it from any future fear of famine. He proposed the formation of " An association for the re-establishment of Poland," but, like his other schemes, this, too, fell through, and Bem again left England to try his fortune in revolutionized France. The fraternal feeling which has ever existed between the Polish and Hungarian patriots, induced Bem to leave France and join the standard of Hungary. How faithfully and how successfully he served the cause of freedom in Transylvania, has been already narrated.

The cruel and perfidious course of Ferdinand toward Hungary, is mostly to be attributed to the pernicious influence of others. Old, imbecile and feeble, the acts of folly and atrocity which disgraced his reign were less the promptings of his own weak brain, than the

instigations of his wily and cold-blooded advisers. The principal among these was the Archduchess Sophia, wife of Francis Charles, the emperor's brother. She was a woman of boundless ambition, and on account of her ability and resolution was called the only *man* in the Hapsburg family. On the 2d of December, 1848, the emperor abdicated the throne in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth nineteen years old, son of the archduchess. Francis Charles, Ferdinand's brother, had renounced all claim to the imperial scepter. A part of the Hungarian representatives saw in this event a spark of hope. Many believed that the young emperor would celebrate his accession by an amnesty; that, according to the laws, he would assemble a Diet, in order to be crowned king, and would recognize the legal rights of Hungary. But this illusion was soon dispelled. Instead of the amnesty, violent proclamations arrived, not acknowledging any Hungarian constitution at all. Kossuth and the committee were declared outlaws, and the laws of 1848 were retracted. The Diet answered to these proclamations by protesting against an abdication not previously communicated to it, and by the declaration that Francis Joseph could not be recognized as king of Hungary until he had declared his intention to take the oath to the constitution, and to be crowned according to the laws. Until he should do so, he was a usurper in the kingdom of Hungary. It was optional with the Hungarians whether they would accept him as king at all. The third article of the constitution, which had been repeatedly confirmed by the solemn oaths of the Hapsburgs, was as follows: "The king of Hungary

can not be discharged from the duties of sovereignty without consent of the nation, the Diet having the appointment of a regency in case of incompetence or resignation of the king." The abdication of Ferdinand had been procured by the enemies of Hungary. This was deemed necessary, because he had reiterated, with the tenacity of a child, whenever a centralization of the monarchy and the overthrow of the Hungarian constitution was mentioned: "My oath, my oath, I can not break my oath!" On the accession of the young emperor, a new and dangerous principle was advanced. It was claimed that pledges, coronation oaths, conventions and compacts between the people and their sovereign, bound only the person of that monarch who had given and signed them, but that he could not bind his successors.

The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy at this period, should not be overlooked. Although the cause of Hungarian freedom was usually represented to be the cause of Protestantism, there were some even among the Catholic bishops, who thought the measures of the Austrian government to be unwarranted and cruel. These were ruthlessly proscribed and persecuted. Lonavies, the Catholic archbishop of Eylau, was thrown into prison for having drawn up and presented to Ferdinand, (a few days previous to his abdication,) a representation, setting forth the views of the Catholic clergy in regard to the national struggle. From this forcible address, which probably so awakened the conscience of Ferdinand on the subject of his iniquitous policy, that he resigned the scepter, the following interesting paragraphs are extracted:

“Sire! — The Hungarian nation, heretofore the firmest bulwark of christianity and civilization against the incessant attacks of barbarism, often experienced rude shocks in that protracted struggle for life and death; but at no period did there gather over her head so many and so terrible tempests, never was she entangled in the meshes of so perfidious an intrigue, never had she to submit to treatment so cruel, and at the same time so cowardly — yet, oh! profound sorrow! all these horrors are committed in the name, and, as they assure us, by the order of your majesty.

“The Hungarian nation refuses to believe, and we, her chief pastors, also refuse to believe, that your majesty either knows or sees with indifference, still less approves, the infamous manner in which the enemies of our country and of our liberties compromise the kingly majesty, arming the population against each other, shaking the very foundations of the constitution, frustrating legally established powers, seeking even to destroy in the hearts of all, the love of subjects for their sovereign, by saying that your majesty wishes to withdraw from your faithful Hungarians, the concessions solemnly sworn to and sanctioned in the last Diet, and finally, to wrest from the country her character of a free and independent kingdom.

“Let your majesty deign to think a moment upon the lamentable situation in which this wretched country is at present, where thousands of your innocent subjects, who formerly all lived together in peace and brotherhood on all sides, notwithstanding differences of races, now find themselves plunged into the most frightful misery by their civil wars.

“The blood of the people is flowing in torrents; thousands of your majesty’s faithful subjects are, some massacred, others wandering about without shelter, and reduced to beggary — our towns, our villages, are but heaps of ashes — the clash of arms has driven the faithful people from our temples, that have become deserted — the mourning church weeps over the fall of religion, and the education of the people is interrupted and abandoned.

“The frightful specter of wretchedness increases and developes itself every day under a thousand hideous forms. The morality, and with it, the happiness, of the people, disappears in the gulf of civil war.

“Sire! our duty as faithful subjects, the good of the country, and the honor of our religion, have inspired us to make these humble but sincere remonstrances, and have bid us raise our voices! So let us hope that your majesty will not only receive our views, but that, mindful of the solemn oath you took on the day of your coronation, in the face of heaven, not only to defend the liberties of the people, but to extend them still further — that mindful of this oath, to which you appeal so often and so solemnly, you will remove from your royal person the terrible responsibility that these impious and bloody wars heap upon the throne, and that you will tear off the tissue of vile falsehoods with which pernicious advisers beset you, by hastening with prompt and strong resolution, to recall peace and order to our country, which was always the strongest prop to your throne!”

In a pastoral letter, by Bishop Fograssy, to the people under his charge, the following patriotic and

eloquent passages are found, equally characterized by the purest patriotism and the most earnest piety :

“ In this time of desolation, when the hatred sown between races, hitherto living in perfect harmony, destroys the peace of our native country ; when a ruthless enemy, murdering and pillaging, commits the greatest atrocities, we have commanded the pastors of churches confided to our directions, to celebrate extraordinary religious services, as long as the sad condition of our country continues unameliorated !

“ When, six months ago, our constitution, eight centuries old, was modified at the Diet of Presburg, according to the exigencies of the times and the wishes of the nation, and its benefits extended to all the sons of our native land, without distinction of class, language, or creed ; when the independent government, sanctioned by the king, received its powers, no one would have believed it possible ever to attack that free constitution, or to excite the other races against the Hungarians.

“ The good that was obtained becoming the good of all, the sincere alliances of races ought on the contrary to have been strengthened ; barriers and walls among races, as among classes, ought to have fallen forever.

“ Thanking God for this result, and grateful for the noble conduct of the clergy of our diocese, we entreat them, as well as all the faithful, with the tenderest expression of fatherly love, still to observe their indefatigable zeal, their immovable fidelity to order, to repel the overtures of the anarchists, and to obey sincerely the commands of the authorities charged with the

defense of the country. Let them abstain from every violation of the laws, divine and civil; let them exhibit in every thing an entire submission to the authorities, who are exerting their utmost to re-establish order and public peace. It is to them those words of the apostle of nations applies: 'There is no power on earth which does not come from God, and it is He who has established all those that are upon the earth.'

"But as the fate of the people is in the hands of God; as, if He allows our country to be laid waste by war, He is sufficiently good and sufficiently powerful to calm the tempest, to cause serene days of happiness, peace, and union again to flourish; as our arms and our strength are insufficient to save the country; — we expect the faithful of our Church, before all things, to invoke the goodness of the Almighty, to pray Him to restore us tranquillity, to enlighten the understandings of those whom our enemies have led astray, and who are fighting in the name of an imaginary freedom, at the very time when freedom is granted to them, and when nothing remains for them but to gather the fruits in peace.

"Press forward into our churches, around the altars of the Lord. If you trust in God, if you derive your strength from religion, you will be strong, persevering in the struggle, prepared for every patriotic service; for he follows the law, who according to the precepts of the gospel and of the Apostles, follows it by obedience, not to men, but to God; freely and without constraint.

"We exhort you, our dear brethren in Christ, to be of unflinching fidelity to your country, of courageous

devotion in her defense, of sincere obedience to the authorities, who in this hour of danger, are obliged to ask you for greater services than heretofore. Be convinced that they are endeavoring to win your liberty, and with it your happiness on earth. Consider it is your most sacred duty to submit yourselves to the legal authorities of the country ; to live among them in peace and love, mutually to assist each other, to sustain the weak, to encourage the timid, to punish the enemies of order. Have patience and courage, and hope in the grace of God, which, far from allowing you to sink under the weight of battle, will recompense your perseverance by the blessings of peace. To Him, the Eternal King, the Immortal Lord, invisible and wise, be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen!"

The young emperor, elated by the success of Windischgratz, would listen to no appeals in behalf of Hungary. He would accept no terms but an unconditional surrender. He determined to win by arms a crown which he might have obtained by constitutional means. He doomed the people of Hungary to the sword, their property to pillage, their cities and towns to fire, and the country to all the horrors of civil war, in order to accomplish his tyrannical purposes. The army of Windischgratz, which amounted to seventy thousand, was soon joined by an equal number of troops from Austria. The Hungarian force was small in comparison, and not more than one-third of them had suitable equipments. A council of war was held, and it was thought best to retreat before Windischgratz. Gorgey and Perczel were directed to hinder his march and embarrass his movements until a sufficient force could be

collected on the Theiss to give him battle. Accordingly Presburg was abandoned, and Windischgratz entered that ancient and favorite city of the Hungarians, his lawless soldiers committing the most fearful barbarities as they advanced. Presburg has been the scene of many interesting events in Hungarian history. It was here, according to a popular legend, that Arpad purchased, for a white steed, from Swatopluk, the king of the country, pasturage for his horses and water for them to drink; and from that time claimed dominion over the plains watered by the Danube.

“For snow-white steed thou gav’st the land,
For golden bit, the grass;
For the rich saddle, Duna’s stream;
Now bring the deed to pass.” *

Here Devojna, daughter of Swatopluk, princess of a band of Amazon virgins, threw herself from a tower of her palace, into the Danube, rather than marry in compliance with her father’s command. On a high mound in the vicinity it is the custom of the Hungarian kings, at their coronation, wearing the crown of St. Stephen, to wave St. Stephen’s sword toward the four quarters of the earth, and swear to defend the country from enemies on every side. Here Ferdinand of Austria, in 1526, was welcomed by the Hungarians, and gave his solemn promise to uphold the constitution and the rights of the kingdom. It was here that Maria Theresa appealed to the fidelity and gallantry of the Hungarians to preserve her crown; and here, forgetting past wrongs, they unanimously exclaimed: “Our life and blood for Maria Theresa!” This city,

* Bowring’s Poetry of the Hungarians.

hallowed by so many evidences of Hungarian loyalty to the house of Hapsburg, was the first to fall a victim to the treachery and sanguinary tyranny of the last of that faithless race, who had awakened all the horrors of civil war on Hungarian soil to accomplish the destruction of the constitutional freedom of the people.

An Austrian officer, who served in the winter campaign against the Hungarians, gives the following vivid description of his feelings, on being compelled to fight against those who had formerly been his esteemed comrades: "What has of late rendered fighting extremely unpleasant to me has been, that I so often found myself opposed to hussars of the regiment to which I formerly belonged, and that I have been repeatedly obliged to battle with them in good earnest. Thus, I was once nearly a day skirmishing with a troop of cavalry, chiefly composed of hussars of the squadron to which for years I had formerly belonged. A corporal of my company, whom I had myself clothed and trained, now commanded as officer, and it can not be denied that he did his business cleverly. I myself shot through the head, with my pistol, an old hussar, who had known me when still a cadet, and from whom I had gained much practical knowledge. He dropped from his horse immediately. He had twice fired at me, and his balls had passed through my cloak and through the flourishing tail of my horse. With another hussar, who had long been my private servant, I was engaged in a longer single combat, with the sword. Both cut away stoutly, but at last separated without either having done the other much harm. Comrades of other days, with whom I had chatted many an hour,

with whom I had had many a wild nocturnal ride, were now arrayed as bitter enemies against me. One of their hussars, with whom I had formerly been well acquainted, once called out to me in Hungarian, in the midst of an action: 'Formerly you were my brave officer, and I was attached to you; now you are the enemy of my country, and I'll shoot you.' At the same moment he fired his pistol at me, and galloped off; the ball whizzing past my head."

The same officer narrates the tragic fate of a Hungarian nobleman and his sister—the one the writer's friend, the other the object of his fondest love: "Two squadrons in particular, of very well organized and equipped *honvods*, (defenders of home,) distinguished themselves by their furious charges on the Croatian infantry battalions, and could at last not be compelled to retreat but by several discharges of grape, which made dreadful havoc in their ranks. The leader of this corps, a man of tall and elegant figure, in the rich dress of a magnate, mounted on a superb, spirited, gray stallion, which he managed with great dexterity, was indefatigable in always rallying his men, and leading them back against our infantry. He galloped to and fro with as much unconcern as if the balls whizzing around him were but snowballs, continually flourishing his glistening blade. The figure of the rider seemed to be well known to me; but I could not distinguish his features, as we were drawn up in rear of our column of infantry, at the distance of some hundred paces from him. Twice he had escaped unhurt the fire of our infantry; when some guns, which had meanwhile come up, began to fire with grape. He seemed not to

heed the first discharge, for I saw him, still brisk and animated as ever, galloping about at the head of his men. The second must have been better directed, for when the smoke cleared off, I could perceive horse and rider on the ground. At that moment we received the signal for charging. The ranks of our infantry suddenly opened, to let us pass through, and we advanced at full gallop upon the enemy's horse. These at first retired precipitately, to get beyond the range of our cannon; then rallied, and drove us back; we did the same by them; and so we went on, till at length, as is usual in Hungary, the whole dissolved into single combats, in which man is engaged hand to hand with man. It was nearly dark when, with my troop, some of whom were killed, others severely wounded, I reached the main body. Scarcely had we unsaddled, and, tired to death, I was about to stretch myself by the watch-fire, fed with the ruins of houses which had been pulled down, when an infantry soldier, appointed to hospital duty, came to inform me that an officer of the insurgents, dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, having heard my name, wished to speak to me. In spite of weariness, I immediately followed my guide to the hurdle-shed, which was fitted up for a hospital. Dismal was the appearance of this dark, low place, scantily lighted by the hand-lanterns of the surgeons and attendants, who, with their blood-striped sleeves tucked up high, and with aprons equally bloody, were busily engaged. The wounded lay close to one another upon dirty straw, which in places was quite wet and slippery from the blood upon it. Loud and gentle sighs, moans, groans, gnashing of teeth, mingled at times

with curses, in the Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian, German, and Croatian languages. I was obliged to rally my courage, lest I should be scared back. In the furthest corner of the long building, on a bed of straw, lay the wounded prisoner, who wished to speak to me. How was I shocked when the light of the attendant's lantern fell upon his face, and I recognized Count St.—! On our march through Croatia to Vienna, I had passed two days at his mansion ; had seen him in the society of two charming women—his wife and his sister—in the full enjoyment of happiness ; and now, in what a state was I doomed to find him ! St.—, a Magyar to the inmost fiber of his heart, had indeed then told me that he should take up arms for Kossuth ; but thus to meet him again, I was not at all prepared. Kneeling by the side of my pale friend, whose noble countenance bore the evident impress of speedy death, I grasped his cold hand, and asked in what way I could be serviceable to him. ‘Thank you for coming,’ he replied in a voice scarcely audible, and this effort manifestly caused him great pain ; ‘I heard that you were here, and I sent for you. I am dying ; my chest is shattered. When I am dead, take the pocket-book out of my uniform, and send it to my wife, who lives at K——: it contains my will and other papers.’ Here he made a long pause, during which I strove to cheer him. ‘Don’t talk thus—’t is of no use—we part as friends—I have fought for my country—you are faithful to your colors.’ I pressed his hand in silence. ‘Where is your sister Helene?’ I at length asked. ‘With the army,’ he answered—‘she is fighting for Hungary.’ It was a considerable time before St.—

could utter a word. He moaned gently ; and a regimental surgeon, who came to us, significantly made the sign of the cross with his finger. At length, after a full hour, he suddenly raised himself and said : ‘So—now ’t is all over — salute Marie (the name of his wife,) Marie!’ and with that he stretched himself out, his eye-strings broke, and his spirit fled. With tears in my eyes, I took, in obedience to my friend’s last injunction, from the breast-pocket of his uniform, his pocket-book, which was so steeped in blood, that the writing in it had become almost illegible ; cut off several locks of his fine black hair and of the curling moustaches, which had always been his pride ; and took the rings from his fingers ; to send as speedily and as safely as possible to the unfortunate widow. St.—had been one of my most intimate friends in the army. For years together, as cadets and officers, we had been almost inseparable, and now I had buried him as an enemy !

“A few days afterward, my heart was doomed to suffer another severe wound. We had been battling about with the Magyars, as we so often were, on a white moor—for the whole country was covered with snow. At night while inspecting the sentinels, I saw by the light of the moon a human figure lying at the foot of a tree. I went nearer—it was a woman, dressed as a man, in the costume of an Hungarian magnate ; the long hair which fell over her shoulders betrayed her sex. My Seressans turned her round ; and by the pale-moon-beams I recognized Helene, the lovely sister of my friend St.—. Inexpressible anguish thrilled me at that moment, and I was well-nigh

throwing myself upon the corpse. Forcibly mustering my spirits, I ordered my men to carry the body to the fire. There we examined it most closely, and with extreme anxiety I sought to ascertain whether there was any hope left of reviving her. Vain hope! it was several hours since her spirit had departed; the ball of one of our riflemen had gone through her heart. From the small red wound the blood was still oozing in single drops, which I carefully caught in my handkerchief, to be preserved as a relic. My only consolation was that the deceased could not have suffered long; that she must have expired the moment she was struck. Those pure, noble, still wondrously beautiful features — on her brow dwelt peace and composure, and the lips almost smiled. There she lay as if in tranquil slumber; and yet those eyes were never more to open — those lips never more to utter noble sentiments, or words of kindness.

“My hussars were visibly affected, and thought it a pity that one so young and so beautiful should die so early. Many of them, who had been with me on our first march through Hungary, for two days together at St.—’s mansion, instantly recognized Helene, and doubly lamented her death, because she had shown such kindness to them.

“We thawed by a fire the ground not far from a maple-tree, and were employed nearly the whole night in digging a large deep grave with our hand-bills and swords. By the time the first rays of dawn appeared, we had finished; an hussar, who could do carpenter’s work, having meanwhile made a simple cross out of the stems of two young white maples.

“The corpse, in full uniform—the *kolpack*, with plume of glistening heron’s feathers on the head ; the light Turkish saber by her side—was then carefully wrapped in a clean, large blanket, which we had with us, and so deposited in the grave, which we filled up again with earth. Then, regardless of caution, I had a full salute fired with pistols over the grave. I have preserved a small gold ring and a lock of her hair for a memorial. The tempestuous feelings that filled my heart I am not able to describe. Helene had, as I subsequently learned, served as aide-de-camp to her maternal uncle, who commanded a considerable Magyar corps, and was shot, when acting in that capacity, by our soldiers. Thus have I lost in one week, two individuals so dear to me, and both opposed to me as enemies ; and besides them, how many esteemed friends and comrades, on the side of the insurgents as well as ours ! how many excellent officers have already been snatched from us ! how cruelly the brave cuirassier regiments, in particular, have suffered !”

Early in January it was found advisable to remove the seat of government from Pesth to the town of Debreczin, situated in the interior. Pesth was altogether indefensible, and the Austrian army were close upon it ; but here the Hungarians had collected a vast amount of stores and ammunition, the preservation of which was of the utmost importance. In saving these, the administrative power of Kossuth was strikingly manifested. For three days and three nights he labored uninterruptedly in superintending the removal, which was successfully effected. From the heaviest locomotive engine down to a shot-belt, all the stores

were packed up and carried away, so that when the Austrians took possession of Pesth, they only gained the eclat of occupying the Hungarian capital, without acquiring the least solid advantage.

Debreczin was the scene where Kossuth displayed his transcendent abilities as an administrator, a statesman, and an orator. The population of the town was about 50,000, which was at once almost doubled, so that every one was forced to put up with such accommodations as he could find, and occupy the least possible amount of space. Kossuth himself occupied the town-hall. On the first floor was a spacious ante-room, constantly filled with persons waiting for an interview, which was, necessarily, a matter of delay, as each one was admitted in his turn ; the only exception being in cases where public business required an immediate audience.

Such was the daily life of Kossuth at the temporary seat of government, bearing upon his shoulders the affairs of state, calling up, as if by magic, regiment after regiment, providing for their arming, equipment, and maintenance, while the Hungarian generals were contending on the field, against the invaders. Of all the movements that followed, Kossuth was the soul and chief. His burning and passionate appeals stirred up the souls of the peasants, and sent them by thousands to the camp. He kindled enthusiasm, he organized that enthusiasm, and transformed those raw recruits into soldiers more than a match for the veteran troops of Austria. Though himself not a soldier, he discovered and drew about him soldiers and generals of a high order. He directed their movements with so

keen an insight and foresight of what military science and the necessities of the case required, that the astounding successes of the Honveds must be ascribed to his wonderful ability. At the same time, the internal policy and conduct of affairs lay upon his shoulders. It was his to stimulate the flagging courage of the Diet; to regulate and insure the proper collection of taxes for the prosecution of civil and military operations. He gave daily audiences to crowds of suitors, and transacted business with hosts of officials. His mind, contained as it was in a feeble body, greatly exhausted by imprisonment and toil, knew no weariness and sought no rest. While listening to a throng of those who had waited patiently for days, perhaps, to get a hearing, his pen was busy in writing those appeals to Hungarian patriotism, that kept the popular feeling at red heat. There was no idle moment, and confidence in eventual success never failed him.

Although the Austrian armies were gradually overrunning the country, the brave Hungarians were as undaunted as their chieftain. They had an almost superstitious conviction that they could not be finally conquered. They firmly believed that the "Magyarok' Istene," (the God of the Hungarians,) would interfere in their behalf, when to human judgment all seemed to be lost. "Pesth is not Hungary!" they exclaimed when Windischgratz entered their ancient capital: "the right and St. Stephen's crown are ours; who can take them from us?" There was scarcely a peasant able to wield a scythe or a club, who did not join the Hungarian army. Aged men, who had long abandoned the active duties of life, again took up arms, eager to

give their remaining strength to the cause of their country. Mothers sent their sons, wives their husbands, maidens their lovers to the battle-field. The soldiers endured the greatest hardships and suffered the severest privations without a murmur; day and night, often exposed to tempests of rain and snow, they cheerfully performed the most difficult service; there was no abatement of their devotion to freedom or their confidence in ultimate victory. Their battles were always sanguinary; for they preferred to die fighting rather than retreat, and never gave way before the enemy, unless by the express command of their officers. Though repulsed, they would return again and again to the charge, swinging their sharp swords with destructive fury, and mingling their loud shouts of "Eljen, eljen Kossuth!" with the spirit-stirring notes of the Rakotzy march. When overborne by numbers they seldom accepted quarter, but exclaiming "En Magyar, wagyok!" (I am a Magyar,) leveled fresh blows at their assailants, and died fighting with desperate fury. On one occasion a Hungarian general said: "Soldiers! we are to meet, not only the enemies whom we expected to find in Losonez, but many more of them. Their number is far superior to ours—are you willing to attack?" "How many are they? in what proportion are we to fight them?" exclaimed an old hussar. "Four or five to one," replied the leader. "Well," said the soldier, "if there are not ten to one, we spurn them!" They advanced and were victorious. Only one idea—the independence of the country and the preservation of liberty—pervaded all classes. The women shared in the enthusiasm and self-denying

patriotism of the men. They cheerfully endured fatigues and sufferings. Their jewelry and other articles of value were freely donated to the public treasury. They often engaged in the most arduous labors of the camp, and not unfrequently acted the part of brave soldiers in battle.

Such a people were not to be easily subdued, although they might be temporarily defeated. For more than two months after the invasion, the Austrian armies gradually extended their conquests in Hungary, until they were in possession of nearly one half the country. Toward the close of February, 1849, however, the Hungarians felt strong enough to meet the victorious army of Windischgratz. At Kapolna, on the 26th, 40,000 Hungarians, under the command of Dembinski, met 60,000 Austrians in battle. The conflict raged with the greatest fury for two days. If the Hungarians were not completely victorious, it was because Dembinski failed to take advantage of a panic among the Austrian troops. After the battle, the chief command was taken from Dembinski and given to Gorgey, whose masterly retreat at the head of only 7,000 Hungarians had so greatly embarrassed Windischgratz. Then began that series of brilliant victories which followed each other in quick succession, and which ceased only when the Austrians were totally routed and nearly driven from the country. "This day," says Pragay in his history of the Hungarian revolution, "was, also, a day of knowledge, for there our young troops learned that, conscious of the sacredness of their cause, they were a match for the more skillful and stronger forces of the enemy. This knowledge inspired them with

courage for the performance of deeds that shall never be forgotten in the history of Hungary — nor in the history of Europe. After this victory, Kossuth came to the head-quarters, held a review, particularly of those battalions that had distinguished themselves; thanked them, with glowing eloquence, in the name of their country, and summoned them to further deeds of like glory.”

The Austrians were driven from all their positions, and relinquished their attacks, retiring in good order, certainly, on their retreat to Pesth, but leaving the Hungarians unequivocally masters of the battle-field. It was an advantage dearly purchased, however. Many a noble and heroic eye closed forever on the fatal plain of Kapolna. The dead were buried with all the pomp and ceremony of military mourning; the flag of Hungary was lowered over their graves, as if to take a last farewell of its gallant champions, while the thunder of the cannon spoke the soldier's requiem. Kossuth afterward visited the graves of the fallen heroes, when a scene of great excitement and powerful interest took place. We may justly picture to ourselves the sublime, almost spiritual, expression which pervaded his noble face and figure, when he stood by the last resting-place of many of his dearest friends, and of thousands whose fearless hearts but a few short hours before beat in unison with his own in its high aspirations after national liberty and glory. Kossuth raised his face to heaven and uncovered his head, an action in which he was imitated by all present; a smile of unearthly beauty played around his lips — it was not kindled by joy, but by faith — as he clasped his hands together,

and, with a bearing that can never be forgotten by those who saw him, uttered the prayer, of which the following is a translation from the German:

“Exalted Ruler of the universe! God of the warriors of Arpad! look down from thy starry throne upon thine unworthy servant, from whose lips the prayer of millions ascends to heaven, extolling the infinite power of thine omnipotence. My God, thy bright sun shines above me, while beneath my knees rest the bones of my fallen brothers. Thy stainless azure overcanopies us; but beneath, the earth is red with the sacred blood of the children of our fathers. Let the life-giving beams of thy glorious luminary shine upon their graves, that the crimson hue may be replaced with flowers, and the last resting-place of the brave be still crowned with the emblems of liberty. God of my fathers and of my race! hear my supplications: let thy blessing rest upon our warriors, by whose arms the spirit of a gallant nation seeks to defend thine own precious gift of freedom.

“Help them to break the iron fetters with which blind despotism would bind a great people. As a free-man, I prostrate myself before Thee on these fresh graves of my slaughtered brethren. Accept the bloody offering which has been presented to thee, and let it propitiate thy favor to our land. My God, suffer not a race of slaves to dwell by these graves, nor pollute this consecrated soil with their unhallowed footsteps. My Father! my Father!—mightier than all the myriads of earth—Infinite Ruler of heaven, earth and ocean!—let a reflex of thy glory shine from these lowly sepulchers upon the face of my people. Consecrate this

spot by thy grace, that the ashes of my brethren who have fallen in this sacred cause may rest undisturbed in hallowed repose. Forsake us not in the hour of need, great God of battles ! Bless our efforts to promote that liberty of which thine own spirit is the essence ; for to Thee, in the name of the whole people, I ascribe all honor and praise."

Among the Hungarian victories which immediately followed the battle of Kapolna, none were more important than that at Isaszeg. "On the 5th of April," says Prágay, who bore a distinguished part in the battle, "we learned that the entire Austrian army was concentrated near Isaszeg, under Windischgratz. Dispositions for a general engagement were accordingly made. A column was sent out toward Hetzel on the left, under General Dessewffy, to turn the hostile flank, which, however, owing to the difficulties of the ground, did not reach its destination till after the enemy were beaten. Windischgratz's main body, with one hundred and twenty cannon, occupied the heights behind Isaszeg—a position that might well be called the Gibraltar of the country—and also the village and forest in front. Klapka approached by the road from Sap, Damjanics from Koka, Aulich forming a reserve between the two toward the woods before Isaszeg. About noon began a murderous fire, and the charge upon the forest. Our troops fought heroically, and carried the woods three times, but were as often expelled by the greatly superior force opposed to them. At last, reinforced by Aulich's corps, and the cavalry of Gaspar, who had come up from Tura, they bore down all resistance, not only clearing the woods at one charge, but

entering the village, which was now burning in at least ten different places. And now all the fierce horrors of the fight were displayed. Along the whole line of battle, for an extent of at least five miles, there was an incessant firing of artillery and small-arms, and constant charges and attacks. When our column came out from the woods, they became exposed to a destructive fire from the heights; but careless of this, and with a singular contempt of death, they stormed the enemy's stronghold. Before nightfall, the tricolor was planted on the hostile works, and waved out gloriously in the last beams of the setting sun. The Austrians, who, trusting to what they believed to be an impregnable position, had perhaps fought better than on any other occasion during the war, were beaten on all sides, and nothing but the coming darkness saved them from utter rout. Our troops, much exhausted by forced marches and by the fatigues of the day, were in great need of repose. They accordingly bivouacked. The pursuit was left to a few divisions of cavalry. The loss on both sides was several thousands in killed and wounded, but that of the enemy by far the largest. We had now become masters of the railroad from Pesth to Szolnok."

The Austrians retreated to Pesth, where they threw up strong intrenchments and prepared for defense. All was bustle at the Hungarian head-quarters. Kosuth was there with some of his ministry and deputies from the Diet, who were preparing to declare the independence of Hungary, and the banishment of the Austrian dynasty. Their purpose was made known to the army, who received its announcement with the greatest

enthusiasm. Kossuth and his associates immediately returned to Debreczin, in order to take proper measures in reference to this important subject. On the 14th of April, 1849, the representatives of the Hungarian nation met in the Protestant church at Debreczin. Kossuth, in an eloquent address, reported the late victories, presented the rights and claims of Hungary, the abuses and perfidy of Austria, and called upon the Diet and the assembled people, to shake off the fetters that had bound them for three centuries, and take their place among the independent nations. Their deliberations resulted in the unanimous adoption of the following

DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE SEPARATION OF
HUNGARY FROM AUSTRIA.

“WE, the legally constituted representatives of the Hungarian nation, assembled in Diet, do by these presents solemnly proclaim, in maintenance of the inalienable natural rights of Hungary, with all its dependencies, to occupy the position of an independent European State — that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. At the same time we feel ourselves bound in duty to make known the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this decision, that the civilized world may learn we have taken this step not out of overweening confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement, but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from utter destruction a nation persecuted to the limit of the most enduring patience.

“Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the house of

them and the independence of the country against the often renewed and perjured attempts of the crown. These rights, and the independence sought to be maintained, were, however, no new acquisition, but were what the king, by his oath, and according to law, was bound to keep up, and which had not in the slightest degree been affected by the relation in which Hungary stood to the provinces of the empire.

“In point of fact, Hungary and Transylvania, with all their possessions and dependencies, never were incorporated into the Austrian empire, but formed a separate, independent kingdom, even after the adoption of the pragmatic sanction by which the same law of succession was adopted for Hungary which obtained in the other countries and provinces.

“The clearest proof of this legal fact is furnished by the law incorporated into the act of the pragmatic sanction, and which stipulates that the territory of Hungary and its dependencies, as well as its independence, self-government, constitution, and privileges, shall remain inviolate and specially guaranteed.

“Another proof is contained in the stipulation of the pragmatic sanction, according to which the heir of the crown only becomes legally king of Hungary upon the conclusion of a coronation treaty with the nation, and upon his swearing to maintain the constitution and the laws of the country, whereupon he is to be crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The act signed at the coronation contains the stipulation that all laws, privileges, and the entire constitution, shall be observed, together with the order of succession. Only one sovereign since the adoption of the pragmatic sanction

refused to enter into the coronation compact, and swear to the constitution. This was Joseph II., who died without being crowned, but for that reason his name is not recorded among the kings of Hungary, and all his acts are considered illegal, null and void. His successor, Leopold II., was obliged, before ascending the Hungarian throne, to enter into the coronation compact, to take the oath, and to let himself be crowned. On this occasion it was distinctly declared in Art. 10, 1790, sanctioned upon oath by the king, that Hungary was a free and independent country with regard to its government, and not subordinate to any other state or people whatever, consequently that it was to be governed by its own customs and laws.

“The same oath was taken by Francis I., who came to the throne in the year 1792. On the extinction of the imperial dignity in Germany, and the foundation of the Austrian empire, this emperor, who allowed himself to violate the law in innumerable instances, had still sufficient respect for his oath, publicly to avow that Hungary formed no portion of the Austrian empire. For this reason Hungary was separated from the rest of the Austrian states by a chain of custom-guards along the whole frontier, which still continues.

“The same oath was taken on his accession to the throne by Ferdinand V., who, at the Diet held at Presburg last year, of his own free-will, sanctioned the laws that were passed, but who, soon after, breaking that oath, entered into a conspiracy with the other members of his family with the intent of erasing Hungary from the list of independent nations.

“Still the Hungarian nation preserved with useless

piety its loyalty to its perjured sovereign, and during March last year, while the empire was on the brink of destruction, while its armies in Italy suffered one defeat after another, and he in his imperial palace had to fear at any moment that he might be driven from it; Hungary did not take advantage of so favorable a moment to make increased demands; it only asked that its constitution might be guaranteed, and abuses rectified — a constitution, to maintain which fourteen kings of the Austrian dynasty had sworn a solemn oath, which every one of them had broken.

When the king undertook to guarantee those ancient rights, and gave his sanction to the establishment of a responsible ministry, the Hungarian nation flew enthusiastically to his support, and rallied its might around his tottering throne. At that eventful crisis, as at so many others, the house of Austria was saved by the fidelity of the Hungarians.

Scarcely, however, had this oath fallen from his lips when he conspired anew with his family, the accomplices of his crime, to compass the destruction of the Hungarian nation. This conspiracy did not take place on the ground that any new privileges were conceded by the recent laws which diminished the royal authority. From what has been said, it is clear that no such demands were made. The conspiracy was founded to get rid of the responsible ministry, which made it impossible for the Vienna cabinet to treat the Hungarian constitution any longer as a nullity.

“In former times a governing council, under the name of the Royal Hungarian Stadtholdership, (*Consilium Locum-tenentiale Hungaricum*,) the president of which

was the Palatine, held its seat at Buda, whose sacred duty it was to watch over the integrity of the state, the inviolability of the constitution, and the sanctity of the laws ; but this collegiate authority not presenting any element of personal responsibility, the Vienna cabinet gradually degraded this council to the position of an administrative organ of court absolutism. In this manner, while Hungary had ostensibly an independent government, the despotic Vienna cabinet disposed at will of the money and blood of the people for foreign purposes, postponing its trading interests to the success of courtly cabals, injurious to the welfare of the people, so that we were excluded from all connection with the other countries of the world, and were degraded to the position of a colony. The mode of governing by a ministry was intended to put a stop to these proceedings, which caused the rights of the country to moulder uselessly in its parchments ; by the change, these rights and the royal oath were both to become a reality. It was the apprehension of this, and especially the fear of losing its control over the money and blood of the country, which caused the house of Austria to determine to involve Hungary, by the foulest intrigues, in the horrors of fire and slaughter, that, having plunged the country in a civil war, it might seize the opportunity to dismember the lands, and blot out the name of Hungary from the list of independent nations, and unite its plundered and bleeding limbs with the Austrian monarchy.

“The beginning of this course was by issuing orders during the existence of the ministry, directing an Austrian general to rise in rebellion against the laws of the

country, and by nominating the same general Ban of Croatia, a kingdom belonging to the kingdom of Hungary. Croatia and Slavonia were chosen as the seat of military operations in this rebellion, because the military organization of a portion of these countries promised to present the greatest number of disposable troops ; it was also thought, that since a portion of those countries had for centuries been excluded from the enjoyment of constitutional rights, and subjected to a military organization in the name of the emperor, they would easily be induced to rise at his bidding.

“Croatia and Slavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because, in those countries, the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting, in every possible manner, the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in inflaming a party with rage, although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croats, allowed the most unrestrained development to the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Slavonian brethren their political rights ; even going the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

“The ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the emperor, and rebelled, openly, against the king of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person ; and he went so far as to decree the separation of Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, with which they had been united for eight hundred years, as well as to

incorporate them with the Austrian empire. Public opinion, and undoubted facts threw the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the emperor ; on his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia ; and, since the ban, in this act of rebellion, openly alledged that he acted as a faithful subject of the emperor, the ministry of Hungary requested their sovereign, by a public declaration, to wipe off the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in Italy ; the emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the ban and his associates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But, at the same time that this edict was published, the ban and his accomplices were covered with favors at court, and supplied, for their enterprise, with money, arms, and ammunition. The Hungarians, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only adopted measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterward, the inhabitants of South Hungary, of Servian race, were excited to rebellion by precisely the same means.

“These were also declared, by the king, to be rebels, but were, nevertheless, like the others, supplied with money, arms, and ammunition. The king’s commissioned officers and civil servants enlisted bands of robbers, in the principality of Servia, to strengthen the rebels, and aid them in massacring the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. The

command of these rebellious bodies was further in trusted to the rebel leaders of the Croatians.

“During this rebellion of the Hungarian Servians, scenes of cruelty were witnessed at which the heart shudders. Whole towns and villages, once flourishing, were laid waste ; Hungarians, fleeing before these murderers, were reduced to the condition of vagrants and beggars in their own country ; the most lovely districts were converted into a wilderness.

“Thus were the Hungarians driven to self-defense ; but the Austrian cabinet had dispatched, some time previously, the bravest portion of the national troops to Italy, to oppress the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice ; notwithstanding that our country was, at home, bleeding from a thousand wounds, still she had allowed them to leave for the defense of Austria. The greater part of the Hungarian regiments were, according to the old system of government, scattered through the other provinces of the empire. In Hungary itself the troops quartered were mostly Austrian, and they afforded more protection to the rebels than to the laws, or to the internal peace of the country.

“The withdrawal of these troops, and the return of the national militia was demanded of the government, but was either refused or its fulfillment delayed ; and when our brave comrades, on hearing the distress of the country, returned in masses, they were persecuted, and such as were obliged to yield to superior force were disarmed and sentenced to death, for having defended their country against rebels.

“The Hungarian ministry begged the king earnestly to issue orders to all troops and commanders of

fortresses in Hungary, enjoining fidelity to the constitution, and obedience to the ministers of Hungary. Such a proclamation was sent to the Palatine, the Viceroy of Hungary, Archduke Stephen, at Buda. The necessary letters were written and sent to the post-office. But this nephew of the king, the Archduke Palatine, shamelessly caused the letters to be smuggled back from the post-office, although they had been countersigned by the responsible ministers, and they were afterward found among his papers, when he treacherously departed from the country.

“The rebel ban menaced the Hungarian coast with an attack, and the government, with the king’s consent, ordered an armed corps to march through Styria for the defense of Fiume; but this whole force received orders to march into Italy. Yet such glaring treachery was not disavowed by the Vienna cabinet.

“The rebel force occupied Fiume, and disunited it from the kingdom of Hungary, and this irruption was disavowed by the Vienna cabinet, as having been a misunderstanding; the furnishing of arms, ammunition, and money to the rebels of Croatia was also declared to have been a misunderstanding. Instructions were issued to the effect that, unless special orders were given, the army and commanders of fortresses were not to follow the orders of the Hungarian ministers, but were to execute the orders of the Austrian cabinet.

“Finally, to reap the fruit of so much perfidy, the Emperor Francis Joseph dared to call himself King of Hungary in the manifesto of 9th March, wherein he openly declares that he erases the Hungarian nation from the list of the independent nations of Europe, and

that he divided its territory into five parts, dividing Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, and Fiume from Hungary, creating at the same time a principality for the Servian rebels (the Koirodina,) and having paralyzed the political existence of the country, declared it incorporated into the Austrian monarchy.

“Never was so disgraceful a line of policy followed toward a nation. Hungary, unprepared with money, arms and troops, and not expecting to be called on to make resistance, was entangled in a net of treachery, and was obliged to defend itself against the threatened annihilation with the aid of volunteers, national guards, and an undisciplined unarmed levy, “*en masse*,” aided by the few regular troops which remained in the country. In open battles the Hungarians have, however, been successful, but they could not rapidly enough put down the Servian rebels, and those of the military frontier, who were led by officers devoted to Austria, and were enabled to take refuge behind intrenched positions.

“It was necessary to provide a new armed force. The king, still pretending to yield to the undeniably lawful demands of the nation, had summoned a new Diet for the 2d of July, 1848, and had called upon the representatives of the nation to provide soldiers and money for the suppression of the Servian and Croatian rebellion, and the re-establishment of public peace. He at the same time issued a solemn proclamation in his own name, and in that of his family, condemning and denouncing the Croatian and Servian rebellion. The necessary steps were taken by the Diet. A levy of 200,000 men, and a subsidy of 40,000,000 of florins were voted as the necessary force, and the bills were

laid before the king for the royal sanction. At the same moment the Hungarians gave an unexampled proof of their loyalty, by inviting the king, who had fled to Innspruck, to go to Pesth, and by his presence tranquilize the people, trusting to the loyalty of the Hungarians, who had shown themselves at all times the best supports of the throne.

“This request was proffered in vain, for Radetzky had in the mean time been victorious in Italy. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, restored to confidence by that victory, thought the time come to take off the mask and to involve Hungary, still bleeding from previous wounds, in the horrors of a fresh war of oppression. The king from that moment began to address the man whom he himself had branded as a rebel, as “dear and loyal,” (Lieber Getreuer;) he praised him for having revolted, and encouraged him to proceed in the path he had entered upon.

“He expressed a like sympathy for the Servian rebels whose hands yet reeked from the massacres they had perpetrated. It was under this command that the ban of Croatia, after being proclaimed as a rebel, assembled an army, and announced his commission from the king to carry fire and sword into Hungary, upon which the Austrian troops stationed in the country united with him. The commanders of the fortresses, Temeswar, Esseg and Karlsburg, and the commanders of the forces in the Banat and in Transylvania, breaking their oaths taken to the country, treacherously surrendered their trusts; a Slovack clergyman, with the commission of colonel, who had fraternized at Vienna with the revolted Czechs, broke into Hungary, and the rebel Croat

leader advanced with confidence, through an unprepared country, to occupy its capital, expecting that the army in Hungary would not oppose him.

“Even the Diet did not give up all confidence in the power of the royal oath, and the king was once more requested to order the rebels to quit the country. The answer given was a reference to a manifesto of the Austrian ministry, declaring it to be their determination to deprive the Hungarian nation of the independent management of their financial, commercial and war affairs. The king at the same time refused his assent to the laws submitted for approval respecting the troops and the subsidy for covering the expenditure.

“Upon this the Hungarian ministers resigned, but the names submitted by the president of the council, at the demand of the king, were not approved of for successors. The Diet then, bound by its duty to secure the interests of the country, voted the supplies, and ordered the troops to be levied. The nation obeyed the summons with readiness.

“The representatives of the people then summoned the nephew of the emperor to join the camp, and as palatine, to lead the troops against the rebels. He not only obeyed the summons, but made public professions of his devotion to the cause. As soon, however, as an engagement threatened, he fled secretly from the camp and the country, like a coward traitor. Among his papers a plan formed by him some time previously was found, according to which Hungary was to be simultaneously attacked on nine sides at once — from Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Transylvania and Stiria.

“From a correspondence with the minister of war, seized at the same time, it was discovered that the commanding generals in the military frontier and the Austrian provinces adjoining Hungary, had received orders to enter Hungary and support the rebels with their united forces.

“The attack from nine points at once really began. The most painful aggression took place in Transylvania, for the traitorous commander in that district did not content himself with the practices considered lawful in war by disciplined troops. He stirred up the Wallachian peasants to take up arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Serbian hordes, commenced a course of Vandalism and extinction, sparing neither women, children, nor aged men ; murdering and torturing the defenseless Hungarian inhabitants ; burning the most flourishing villages and towns, among which Nagy-Enyed, the seat of learning for Transylvania, was reduced to a heap of ruins.

“But the Hungarian nation, although taken by surprise, unarmed and unprepared, did not abandon its future prospects in any agony of despair.

“Measures were immediately taken to increase the small standing army by volunteers and the levy of the people. These troops, supplying the want of experience by the enthusiasm arising from the feeling that they had right on their side, defeated the Croatian armies and drove them out of the country.

“The defeated army fled toward Vienna.

“One of their leaders appealed, after an unsuccessful fight, to the generosity of the Hungarians for a truce,

which he used to escape by night and surreptitiously, with his beaten troops; the other corps, of more than ten thousand men, was surrounded and taken prisoners, from the general to the last private.

“The defeated army fled in the direction of Vienna, where the emperor continued his demoralizing policy, and nominated the beaten and flying rebel as his plenipotentiary and substitute in Hungary, suspending by this act the constitution and institutions of the country, all its authorities, courts of justice and tribunals, laying the kingdom under martial law, and placing in the hand and under the unlimited authority of a rebel, the honor, the property, and the lives of the people — in the hand of a man who, with armed bands, had braved the laws, and attacked the constitution of the country.

“But the house of Austria was not contented with this unjustifiable violation of oaths taken by its head.

“The rebellious ban was placed under the protection of the troops stationed near Vienna, and commanded by Prince Windischgratz. These troops, after taking Vienna by storm, were led as an Imperial Austrian army to conquer Hungary. But the Hungarian nation, persisting in its loyalty, sent an envoy to the advancing enemy. This envoy, coming under a flag of truce, was treated as a prisoner and thrown into prison. No heed was paid to the remonstrances and the demands of the Hungarian nation for justice. The threat of the gallows was, on the contrary, thundered against all who had taken arms in defense of a wretched and oppressed country. But before the army had time to enter Hungary, a family revolution in the tyrannical reigning

house was perpetrated at Olmutz. Ferdinand V. was forced to resign a throne which had been polluted with so much blood and perjury, and the son of Francis Charles, who also abdicated his claim to the inheritance, the youthful Archduke Francis Joseph, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. But no one but the Hungarian nation can, by compacts, dispose of the constitutional throne of Hungary.

“At this critical moment the Hungarian nation demanded nothing more than the maintenance of its laws and institutions, and peace guaranteed by their integrity. Had the assent of the nation to this change in the occupant of the throne been asked in a legal manner, and the young Prince offered to take the customary oath that he would preserve the Constitution, the Hungarian nation would not have refused to elect him King, in accordance with the treaties extant, and to crown him with St. Stephen’s crown before he had dipped his hand in the blood of his people.

“He, however, refusing to perform an act so sacred in the eyes of God and man, and in strange contrast to innocence natural to youthful breasts, declared in his first words, his intention of conquering Hungary, which he dared to call a rebellious country, although he himself had raised rebellion there, and of depriving it of that independence which it had maintained for a thousand years, to incorporate it into the Austrian monarchy.

“And he has but too well labored to keep his word. He ordered the army under Windischgratz to enter Hungary, and at the same time, directed several corps

of troops to attack this country from Galicia and Styria. Hungary resisted the projected invasion, but being unable to make head against so many armies at once, on account of the devastation carried on in several parts of the interior by the excited rebels, and being thus prevented from displaying its whole power of defense, the troops were at first obliged to retire. To save the capital from the horrors of a storm like that to which Prague and Vienna had mercilessly been exposed, and not to stake the fortunes of a nation—which deserved a better fate—on the chances of a pitched battle, for which there had not been sufficient preparation, the capital was abandoned, and the Parliament and national government removed, in January last, to Debreczin, trusting to the help of a just God, and to the energies of the nation, to prevent the cause from being lost, even when it should be seen that the capital was given up. Thanks be to Heaven, the cause was not lost!

But even then an attempt was made to bring about a peaceful arrangement, and a deputation was sent to the generals of the perjured dynasty. That dynasty, in its blind self-confidence, refused to enter into any negotiation, and dared to demand an unconditional submission from the nation. The deputation was detained, and one of the number, the former president of the ministry,* was thrown into prison. The deserted capital was occupied, and turned into a place of execution; a part of the prisoners of war were there consigned to the scaffold, another part were thrown into

* The Count Louis Batthyani.

dungeons, while the remainder were forced to enter the ranks of the army in Italy.

The measure of the crimes of the Austrian house was, however, filled up, when — after its defeat — it applied for help to the Emperor of Russia ; and, in spite of the remonstrances and protestations of the porte, and of the consuls of the European powers at Bucharest, in defiance of international rights, and with signal danger to the balance of power in Europe, caused the Russian troops stationed in Wallachia to be led into Transylvania, for the destruction of the Hungarian nation.

Three months ago we were driven back upon the Theiss ; our arms have already recovered all Transylvania ; Clausenburg, Hermanstadt, and Cronstadt are taken ; one portion of the troops of Austria is driven into the Bukovina ; another, together with the Russian force sent to aid them, is totally defeated, and to the last man obliged to evacuate Transylvania, and to fly into Wallachia. Upper Hungary is cleared of foes.

The Servian rebellion is suppressed ; the forts of St. Tama's and the Roman intrenchment have been taken by storm, and the whole country between the Danube and the Theiss, including the county of Bacs, has been recovered for the nation. The general of the perjured house of Austria has been defeated in five battles, and with his whole army he has been driven back upon and even across the Danube. Framing our conduct according to these events, and confiding in the justice of Eternal God, we, before the world, and relying on the natural rights of the Hungarian nation, and on

the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation legally represented by us, the following :—

“1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it, and its dependencies, are hereby declared to constitute a free, independent, sovereign state. The territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

“2d. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine — having, by treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts, in breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and its districts from Hungary — further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power, for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended — is, as treacherous and perjured, forever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished forever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed; degraded, and banished from the Hungarian territory.

“3d. The Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, being determined to assume the position of a free and independent state among the nations of Europe, declares it to be its intention to establish and maintain friendly and neighborly relations with those states with which it was formerly united under the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with all other nations.

“4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.

“But until this shall be decided, on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages, the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all acts, by Louis Kossuth, who has by acclamation, and with the unanimous approbation of the Diet of the nation, been named Governing President, (Gubernator,) and the ministers whom he shall appoint.

“And this resolution of ours we shall proclaim and make known to all the nations of the civilized world, with the conviction that the Hungarian nation will be received by them among the free and independent nations of the world, with the same friendship and free acknowledgment of its rights which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

“We also hereby proclaim and make known to all the inhabitants of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communes, towns, and the civil officers both in the counties and cities, are completely set free and released

from all the obligations under which they stood, by oath or otherwise, to the said house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and that any individual daring to contravene this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of high treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the government now instituted formally, and endowed with all necessary legal powers.

DEBRECZIN, APRIL 14, 1849."

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CHAPTER VI.

KOSSUTH THE GOVERNOR.

THE Declaration of Hungarian Independence and of the Repudiation of the Hapsburg Dynasty, had not been contemplated until all hope of a reconciliation with the Austrian monarch failed, and was not proclaimed until after it had been formally announced, at Vienna, that the constitution and liberties of Hungary were destroyed. Unconditional surrender or an armed resistance, were the only alternatives placed before the Hungarians. A brave and patriotic people could not hesitate in choosing. They could die, but they could not be slaves.

On the 14th of April, the representatives of the Hungarian people assembled in the Protestant church, for the purpose of entering the ranks of independent nations, after the example set by the Americans. Eyewitnesses of that assembly assure us that the scene in the plain, unadorned house of prayer, was the grandest one in the whole course of the Hungarian revolution. Never was Kossuth's eloquence more electrifying than when dictating the letter of renunciation of allegiance to the Hapsburg dynasty ; his glowing patriotism vied with his impassioned eloquence. The farewell curse thundered from his lips like a cataract ; and as the people beheld the history of their centuries of suffering,

the deceptions practiced on them, and their unrequited and thankless sacrifices, unrolled before them, and held up to their view like so many warning spirits, their hearts' blood stirred with feverish excitement, and they trembled with irrepressible emotion. The thrill of present joy, the intoxicating presentiment of future freedom, could alone adequately recompense the sufferings and the bootless struggles of ages, or efface the remembrance of past griefs.

A thundering shout of exultation broke from that immense assembly, and swelling in its course like an avalanche, it was caught up by the multitude who thronged the streets without, and was echoed far and wide through the country around. The National Assembly had made a call upon the people for fresh heroism, for new self-denial and self-devotion ; and the people, in their joyous enthusiasm, vowed to respond to the summons.

In the latter half of April, and in May, festive demonstrations, in approval of the declaration of separation from Austria, were celebrated in all parts of the country. The resolution which the Diet had passed on the 14th of April, "that the house of Hapsburg had forfeited the throne," was generally felt as a necessary consequence of the position into which the now ruling party in Vienna had *forced* Hungary. There were persons who thought it would have been wiser not to issue the declaration from Debreczin, but to date it from Pesth, only after the Austrians should have been utterly driven from the soil of Hungary. Nevertheless, with the great majority of the nation, it was only a question as to the proper time in which such

a declaration should be published. The Austrians themselves proved by their devastations, that they considered Hungary a foreign country.

On the 14th of May, one month after the declaration of Independence was proclaimed, Kossuth, who had been chosen by the people and by the Diet to be Governor of Hungary, took the following oath of allegiance to the nation :

"I, Louis Kossuth, elected Governor by the National Assembly, swear that I will maintain the declaration of independence of the nation in all its consequences ; that I will yield and enforce obedience to the laws and to the resolutions of the National Assembly. So help me God."

The honor and duties thus formally imposed upon Kossuth, were the same that had necessarily devolved upon him as President of the Committee of Defense, from the period of the Austrian invasion. It was his voice that summoned the people to rally round the standard of their country—it was chiefly by his activity and energy that the gigantic difficulties which beset the path of the new government were removed.

Kossuth felt the full weight of the responsibility resting upon him. His activity was almost miraculous—the amount of labor he performed was extraordinary. It would be impossible for any person, not an eye-witness, to give a true picture of his daily life at this important period ; and it is fortunate, that one who saw him constantly has given to the world a minute description of his habits at this time. The account is worthy of preservation to the latest age : "I hardly know where to begin," says the writer, who was one of the

governor's private secretaries, "as there is hardly a pause in the course of his activity to start from ; but, for example, I will write down the doings of yesterday. Yesterday morning, after I had breakfasted, I hastened to the chancery — that is, to Kossuth's house — which contains four apartments : his sleeping chamber, a parlor, the chancery where we four secretaries have our places, and a small room for copyists. Three couriers with dispatches were in the room as I entered ; and Kossuth sat in his usual place, with a pen in his right hand, and in the left the dispatches just brought him. I had come rather late, for it was already a quarter past five o'clock ; and another secretary had prepared, in my place, two dispatches, which had been sent off at five. As I went in, he was occupied in several ways. His hand was writing ; his mouth was dictating ; his eye glanced at and read the open dispatches ; and his mind directed and followed all the operations of his servants. He looked paler and more sick than usual. A glass of medicine stood at his side, of which he tasted from time to time, as if the mixture were the means of keeping up his physical existence. Indeed, though I have often worked at his side, from early in the morning till late at night, I do not remember having seen him stop to take any nourishment excepting this mixture ; and though he does sometimes eat, I can assure you that the quantity of food consumed by him would hardly be enough to keep a young child from starving. One might almost say, that the physical part of him has scarcely an existence of its own. The man is nothing but spiritual energy ; for, if it were not so, the perishing, sickly frame would long since have

been dissolved in spite of all the wisdom of the physicians. He is, perhaps, the only living being, whose mighty will is alone sufficient, by its own force, to urge forward the wheels of his physical nature and keep them constantly in motion. He will not be sick; and he is not sick. His spiritual resources, his resolution, his enthusiasm, endow him with the powers of a giant, although his bodily strength is not more than that of a boy of six years. He bids defiance to the deaths that threaten him in so many different forms. His spirit is still young and vigorous, and can cease to be so only when the too great tension shall have irritated the nerves to such a degree, that they will refuse to obey the will. Then, and then only, will that organism cease to be. It will destroy itself." After this personal sketch, the labors of a single day are thus set down: "I had scarcely taken my place, when the governor began to dictate a letter to General Bem; and we were similarly engaged for about four hours, during which time I had written two letters, and each of my three colleagues three, by his dictation. He himself had, in the mean time, prepared two dispatches, one for Perczel and another for Komorn. After nine o'clock, leaving us work enough for the whole day, he went with the ministers Szemere and Duschek, who came for him, to the National Assembly, taking with him some papers, on which he had made several memoranda. He returned at four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by several representatives, with whom he held a conference of two hours, answering their questions and suggestions. This, however, did not hinder him from examining the documents we had prepared

during his absence, or from dictating more letters. While he was thus dictating to us three or four letters, with totally different contents, and all coming off together from the same lips, we had to be exceedingly careful in committing them to paper, so rapid was his utterance. At six o'clock came more dispatches, and verbal inquiries, all of which were answered promptly. The representatives, with one exception, went away. The one remaining sat down by the side of Kossuth and began to help us. This made five secretaries; and to give some conception of the labors of the evening, I will mention, that, from half-past eight, he dictated to us, at the same time, five important letters, all of different contents. One of them was to Dembinski, one to Bem, the third to Paris, the fourth to Gyongyos, and the fifth to Vienna. Two were in German, one in French, and one in Hungarian." Rightly does the secretary exclaim, as he records these labors — "Is it a man that can do such things!"

But the toils of the day were not yet concluded: "After this," continues the witness, "Kossuth was some time engaged with figures, which he reckoned in a state of almost perfect abstraction. While he was thus occupied, his friend and family physician, the doctor and professor, Bugat Pal, came in, and interrupted him. He greeted the doctor kindly, pointed to a chair, and returned to his occupation. The doctor took his left hand, which was yielded willingly, as if it did not belong to its owner; and he held it for about fifteen minutes, feeling the beat of the pulse, after which he retired without being noticed by the illustrious patient

At eleven o'clock, the head of one of my colleagues was already nodding, and both myself and the one opposite to me, could hardly keep our eyes open. The clock struck twelve, and the noise of the departure of the copyists roused him from his reflections. 'What time is it, gentlemen?' he asked us; and when we told him it was just after twelve, he became unquiet, and a cloud suddenly passed over his brow. He rose from his seat, saying, 'Has no express arrived from Pesth?' 'No,' was the answer, and he began to walk up and down the room. He did not seem to think that it was time to be seeking rest; and, as if to keep us from having such a thought, he said: 'Gentlemen, there is work to be done yet!' Finally, after waiting vainly for another hour, he said to us: 'Let us take a little rest, gentlemen, while we are waiting. *I will call you, when I need your help!*'" Yes, the tireless guardian of the nation, with all the dignities of his office on him, goes not to his couch leaving a command to be called when needed; but, as if the servant of his servants, he gives them an untroubled sleep, promising to call them when he wants them! There was more work, however, on its way to the hands of the great master-workman: "He went into his bedroom," continues the secretary, "and we arranged ourselves on the benches and slept with our fatigue as soundly as in the softest bed. But our rest was not of long duration. Between three and four o'clock, the dispatches arrived. Still half asleep, we took our places, and Kossuth, that watchman of his country, dictated to us as before. At six in the morning, we received permission to go away, while he went for a bath, though we were to be there

again by eight o'clock!" Such, at this period, was the daily life of Kossuth, a man whose health had been broken by his long Austrian imprisonment. "We," says the secretary with good reason — "*we* are young and strong; and such a night's watching, now and then, will not injure us. But it is not so with him. How long can this hero of the nineteenth century — this guide of our father-land amid the foes that surround it — how long can his spirit sustain the contest that it carries on, with the little of physical nature attached to it? If, beyond the ocean, in the free and happy America, there are men who feel a sympathy for our good cause, we do not ask their prayers so much for the triumph of the Magyars as for the life of Kossuth; for Hungary can not be conquered — [the writer did not dream of her ever being betrayed] — so long as this incomprehensible being, whose name is Kossuth, is spared to us, though Russians and Austrians enter our country by myriads, and though thousands of our brethren fall as sacrifices to the cause of freedom. He is the image of liberty, equality and fraternity. He is the incarnate spirit of justice. He is the Washington of Hungary!"

After the battle of Kapolna, the Hungarians gained victory after victory. The Austrians, under Windischgratz, Jellachich and Schlick, were repeatedly defeated. The latter general was the only one among the Austrians whose name was not tarnished by wanton barbarities. He had many of the chivalrous qualities belonging to the soldier. Early in February, when his triumphant army was marching through Rimaszombath, a bystander spoke admiringly of the precision

with which the soldiers performed their evolutions. A lad, who was playing in the street, exclaimed : " But in spite of this they shall be turned out of the country ! " An Austrian officer was about to punish the boy for his audacity, but Schlick interposed in favor of the urchin. " Patriotism," he said, " is here instilled with the mother's milk ! " General Schlick was, some years previous, stationed in Hungary, and it so happened that in one of the battles on the Theiss, the Austrians took his former Hungarian attendant prisoner. Schlick recognized him ; and when the man appealed to his old master for his release, it was at once granted. Nevertheless, the hussar yet remained at the Austrian camp, and presented himself at the general's once more, most humbly thanking him, and at the same time avowing that a hussar was but half a man without his saber, which of course had been taken from him when he was made prisoner. " Well," replied Schlick, " you shall have it." The hussar's countenance brightened, and he gladly turned to the door ; but stopped anew, and turned again to the general, who inquired what he wanted still ? " My lord Colonel," the man replied, " I wish you so well, that I would give you good advice : do join us Hungarians ; we are such honest people." The general could not repress a smile as he said, " Begone ! " The faithful soldier marched off with wonted subordination.

So closely did the Hungarians pursue the Austrians, that at Godollo, Kossuth occupied the bed in which Windischgratz had slept the previous night. In the morning when Kossuth stepped out of his room, he found General Gorgey sleeping before the door, where

he had obviously passed the night. Kossuth, highly astonished, inquired why he had done so. Gorgey answered : " Is it not natural that the President of Hungary should be guarded by his most faithful general ? "

On the 18th of April, Gen. Welden, (who had been appointed to supersede Gen. Windischgratz,) evacuated Pesth, but left Buda, a strong fortress on the opposite side of the Danube, in command of Gen. Henzi, with orders to defend it to the last. While Gorgey with the main army pursued Welden toward the Austrian frontier, Gen. Aulich was left behind to take possession of Pesth.

The columns of Gen. Aulich entered Pesth on the 28th of April. The people were filled with exultation. Thousands of flags, with the colors of Hungary, waved from the housetops. The streets were crowded with the joyous population, and each individual hussar and honved was cheered and covered with flowers. Gen. Aulich, the hero of the day, was prominent among those who devoted their splendid military talents to the liberation of Hungary. His far-sighted generalship, his indomitable courage, his presence of mind and perseverance, were almost unequaled. The obstacles in his path served but to purify his principles and to impart more firmness to his character. His character was that of a Roman in the most chivalric period of Rome's history. He could not be made a pliant tool in the hands of despotic power. He was one of the few whom the revolution of March failed to surprise, because it found them prepared. Aulich welcomed the first faint rays of civil liberty, and for its protection he did not hesitate to hoist the bloody

banner of war. His soldiers adored him, for he shared their dangers and their fatigues. His attacks were victories, his battles were conquests. As a soldier and general, he is entitled to the respect of all time; as a man and citizen, he had even stronger claims to affection and esteem. His simplicity, single-mindedness, generosity and chivalrous honesty were worthy of a better fate than it was his fortune to meet. The majestic serenity which was his chief characteristic through life, remained undisturbed when, at the close of the war, he suffered the horrors of a death which was not a soldier's death; and of which the infamy belongs to his executioners and not to their victim. His motto, "*Adversis major, par secundis*," (Neither elated by success nor depressed by adversity,) inspired him to the last day of his life.

The Austrians were retreating in wild confusion. Their proud armies had been beaten six times within three weeks. The Hungarians greeted their victories with joyful acclamations. Tidings of fresh successes came from all sides.

When, at the commencement of the war against the Austrian invaders, the Hungarian armies retired beyond the Theiss, they left a strong garrison in Komorn, the most important military post in Hungary. For three months an immense Austrian army was encamped around this fortress, vainly endeavoring to subdue it. Gen. Welden retreated to Komorn, where, being joined by the large Austrian force investing the fortress, he hoped to arrest the march of Gorgey. After an obstinate and bloody battle Gorgey triumphed, and the Austrians fell back on Vienna. Had Gorgey

followed them the capital of Austria would have been in his power and the war ended. But after remaining a week at Komorn, Gorgey, at the head of 30,000 men, turned-back toward Buda.

After an uninterrupted retreat of many weeks, and in various directions; after a retreat, which would have had a disheartening and demoralizing effect even upon the best disciplined troops, the Hungarian army had made a sudden stand, and, turning round upon the enemy, who came up in hot pursuit, defeated them in every encounter; and compelled them to retrace their steps on the very ground over which they had hurried with the eagerness and exultation of an all but certain success. The capital of the Austrian empire stood silent with fear and shame. The press, which delivered its oracles under the inspirations of martial law, had long since proclaimed that the "rebellion" was suppressed and the rebels annihilated, and that only a few miserable adventurers consulted their safety by a wild and disordered flight, pursued by the imprecations and the revenge of the people whom they had enslaved by their terrorism! The victorious arms of Austria had crushed the revolution! her foot was in the act of extinguishing its last smouldering embers! After such triumphant language, it was painful in the extreme to admit a series of disasters, and to hide unparalleled defeats under the specious pretense of strategical necessity. But the state of things was so bad that this last miserable expedient was eagerly resorted to. The persevering retreat of the Austrian army was represented as part of a cunning stratagem, which would eventually cause the ruin and destruction

of the Hungarian army. The climate of the country and the want of proper means of communication were next adverted to; but the retreat and flight of the imperialist forces were still represented as a clever maneuver, which must lead to decisive and brilliant results. The evacuation of Pesth, the retreat across the Danube, and the withdrawal of the Austrian army from Komorn, had already taken place, but still the partizans of Prince Schwarzeberg, the Austrian prime minister, scorned to admit the possibility of such contingencies, and represented them as the wild and morbid fancies of the rebellious spirit of the times. But when the awkward mystification came at length to light, the people of Vienna began to mutter strange things in favor of the approaching Hungarians, whose hereditary martial renown had been firmly re-established.

The fate of Hungary, and the fate of the Austrian empire, lay in the hands of General Gorgey. If his resolution had been bold, its execution rapid and energetic, he would have insured the greatest success, and immortalized his name among the chiefs of his heroic country. But General Gorgey, though inimitable in the field of battle, was undecided and wavering in his plans. He allowed days to pass before he could make up his mind as to the direction of his next operations. On the one side lay Vienna, with its profligate court and mercenary army, trembling at the approach of the avengers, who were to unfetter and turn the tide of popular fury against them. On the other hand lay Buda, with its royal castle, and its historical reminiscences, the center and the heart of Hungary. An

expedition to Vienna required good generalship and energy. In a political and strategical point of view, Vienna was the most important position ; its possession would have resulted in the complete annihilation of the Austrian empire and the extinction of the Hapsburg monarchy. Thus the freedom of Hungary would have been secured. The expedition to Buda was something of a military promenade, and the possession of the fortress was of no immediate consequence, for a close watch of a few weeks could not fail to exhaust its provisions, and starve it into submission. Gorgey turned away from Vienna and attacked Buda : with this decision the die was cast, and the favorable moment was gone, never again to return. His fatal resolution was, doubtless, attributable to the fact that Kossuth intended to place him at the head of the war department, and he was unwilling to leave the army without crowning his merit by the conquest of Buda. . He was aware that this feat of arms, grand and heroic, if not in its consequences, at least in the *manner* of its execution, would stamp itself into the hearts of the Hungarian people ; that the old traditional glory of Buda would henceforward be his glory, and that the storming of her heights would eventually conduct him nearer to the goal he aimed at. That goal was, probably even then, the dictatorship of Hungary.

The reason why the Austrians, on their retreat, left a garrison at Buda, must be apparent to all. Their march was too precipitate to allow of their taking away the artillery, and the stores of Buda and Pesth, which for a time had served as their principal depots ; they had, moreover, reason to hope that the glaring bait

thus carelessly thrown out, would lure the Hungarians away from the chief object of their operations. The result proved the justness of their calculations. Buda attracted, and for a time substantially paralyzed Gorgey's forces : he neglected to press on the heels of the flying enemy, to advance into and conquer Austria ; and thus gave the fugitives time to rally, and to attract the Russian armies, which, in those very days, prepared to cross the frontiers of the Austrian dominions. On the 21st of May, Buda, after a most obstinate resistance, during which Gen. Henzi, the commander, was killed, yielded to Gen. Gorgey. Kossuth's proclamation announcing this victory closed with the following glowing language : " May the nation gather fresh courage and enthusiasm from the example of this success ! May the combat which is still impending be short, and the liberation of the country complete ! Peals of bells throughout the country, proclaim the victory of Hungarian arms. Pray to God, and thank him for the glory he has vouchsafed to grant the Hungarian army, whose heroic deeds have made it the great bulwark of European liberty ! "

The tidings of this victory were received with ecstasy. No one had expected any other result from Hungarian bravery ; nevertheless, it made as overpowering an impression as if it had been unexpected. No enemy remained in the west of Hungary. The capital was free. The honveds were praised for their courage and efficiency, and the whole merit of the memorable feat was assigned to them alone, not to Gorgey, who was reported to have said, " that if he had been fully aware of what the bravery of the honveds could

achieve, he could have taken the fortress much sooner than after a siege of seventeen days."

After the conquest of Buda, the whole population of the country seemed as if released from prison. The capital again resumed its activity and business. Troops moved in all directions, and were greeted everywhere with great enthusiasm. The victorious army was mostly composed of honveds. A gentleman who had gone from Szecseny to see them, observed, that in this body there were but few hussars. One of these heard the observation and proudly replied: "Yet we always prove sufficient." This warrior, no doubt, belonged to the school of the old hussar, who instructed a new recruit in fighting and taught him all kinds of cuts. The novice said: "But now I should likewise learn how to parry." "This is not necessary," exclaimed the veteran: "strike only, and the Austrians will parry; thou need'st but strike!" In spite of the signal bravery of the honveds, which decided most of the battles, the hussars always remained the pride of the people: they ever were considered the type of the national heroism. In Jaszbereny, twelve of them were received by a deputation, accompanied by pretty peasant girls in festive apparel. One of the girls presented the hussar sergeant with a nosegay. He took it, and gallantly thanked her, with the assurance, that if the choice had been left to him, to get a hundred ducats from Windischgratz, or this nosegay from her hand, he would have chosen the latter. "Between four eyes," (if they were alone,) he said, "I would, pretty girl, still more cordially thank you with a kiss; but in presence of this stately deputation that won't do."

The news of the conquest of Buda, wrought a sudden change in the opinion of the National Assembly, respecting Gorgey. It was resolved that the thanks of the country be expressed to the victorious general and his army, and that the grand cross of the Hungarian order for military merit be awarded to Gorgey. A committee of members was appointed to convey this resolution to the army. General Gorgey was aware of the sentiments which, in the course of the siege, prevailed on his account at Debreczin. He declined the proffered reward, protesting that his principles would not allow him to accept a mark of distinction ; that the mania for titles and orders was already rife among the officers of his army, and that for the purpose of calling them back to the early purity of their purposes and tendencies, he felt it incumbent upon himself to set them an example. Such were his words. But his mode of action showed the real nature of the sentiments he entertained against the governor, whom he hated, and from whom he would not, henceforward, accept either rewards or instructions. The secret springs of his action became more and more manifest, until in July, he and his adherents rose in open and undisguised opposition to the Governor and the National Assembly.

At this period, the Hungarians had two Austrian generals, fourteen hundred superior and staff officers, and thirty thousand privates, prisoners of war. They were distributed in the various cities of the land, their personal liberty was allowed them, and the same pay that was given to the Hungarian army in time of peace. The Hungarians, on the contrary, who in former times had served in the imperial army, and now fell into the

hands of the Austrians, were hanged, shot, or at least imprisoned with heavy irons, by court-martial. The common honveds were instantly enrolled in Austrian regiments and sent to Italy. After the published executions and notorious ill-treatment of several of the Hungarian prisoners of war, Gorgey sharply protested against such cruelty, unknown to civilized nations, and issued a proclamation to that effect, in which he threatened retaliation.

When the siege of Buda drew to its close, the rumor of a Russian intervention became daily more distinct; in the commencement of June there could be no doubt as to the intentions of the Czar. On the 1st of May, 1849, the Austrian journals published the following official proclamation: "The insurrection in Hungary has, within the last months, grown to such an extent, and its present aspect exhibits so unmistakably the character of a union of the forces of the revolutionary party in Europe, that all states are equally interested in assisting the imperial (*i. e.* Austrian) government in its contest against this spreading dissolution of all social order. Acting on these important reasons, his majesty the emperor's government has been induced to appeal to the assistance of his majesty the Czar of all the Russias, who generously and readily granted it to a most satisfactory extent. The measures which have been agreed on by the two sovereigns are now executing."

"Russia offers 150,000 men," said Dr. Bach,* the

* Dr. Bach is said to have been born in Hungary, some distance north of the birthplace of Kossuth. The Hungarians give an interesting, but spiteful, account of his origin, worth narrating: a miller at the Branyiszko,

Austrian minister of home affairs, "and, if need be, another army of the same number, for the subjugation

(a very steep mountain path,) when his mill was stopped for want of water, was overwhelmed with grief at the prospect of starvation for his wife and children. Meditating upon his ill fortune he wandered far into the forest. There he met a fine gentleman with a cloven foot, a red cloak, and a cock's feather in his hat, who promised to get him water for his mill if he would promise to give him up, in return, something that he possessed without knowing it. The miller, (it is not doubted,) recognized the gentleman; but the temptation proving more powerful than conscience, he consented to the proposition, and hastened home. There he found the mill in full activity; and his mother-in-law met him joyfully with the news that his wife had happily borne him a son. The poor man, remembering his bargain, was struck dead with horror. The fine gentleman soon came and carried the baby away under his red cloak. For a long, long time the little one's mother heard nothing about him; but at last the tidings reached her that her son, owing to his eminent educational advantages, had become a doctor of laws and a very fine gentleman — nothing less, indeed, than *minister of home affairs* at Vienna!

The legends among the inhabitants at the foot of the Carpathians, do not usually accord the gentleman with the cloven foot such excellent success as he had in the case of Dr. Bach. The proprietor of the castle of Lublo—so runs one of these legends—wished to enlarge his towers. There was, however, one little difficulty—he had no money. At last he resolved to apply to the demon, and going to the "devil's stone," called on its patron, with whom he made over by contract all the souls that should happen to be in the castle at the moment when the key-stone would be inserted in the banquet hall. The devil hereupon presented him with seven chests full of gold, and the rebuilding of the castle soon began on a grand scale. But not the devil's chests alone furthered the work; to the architect's great astonishment, the walls grew through the night, in the ratio of their increase during the day. There could be no doubt, therefore, that the devil helped the work with his own hands; and as the extensive edifice drew nearer to its completion, anxiety pressed heavier and heavier on the heart of the proprietor. It was in vain that he enlarged the plan. The castle was, notwithstanding, almost finished, and the hour of payment approached. The devil's debtor, in full despair, went down to the red cloister and confessed his sins to the abbot, who naturally, before any thing else could be done, took into custody the

of Hungary. The expenses of the war shall be defrayed by the conquered people."

Gen. Haynau, who, from his excessive cruelty, was already called "the butcher," was appointed to the chief command of the Austrian forces, in place of Gen. Welden. He celebrated his elevation by the execution of several Hungarian officers and a Protestant minister, who had taken part in the war of liberation : others were subjected to the severest corporal punishment.

The Russian armies entered Hungary at different points. Bem was gradually forced, by vastly superior numbers, to yield up Transylvania. But he heroically contested every foot of ground. Another large army advanced from the north, and though valiantly opposed, gradually obtained possession of the country from Schemnitz,* the stronghold of the mining districts, and Kremnitz to Debreczin.

three chests of gold, which he found to be still remaining of the loan, intending to release them by his blessing from the demon's curse, and to preserve them for the convent. Then he sent to the castle a consecrated bell, with orders to ring it the very moment when the key-stone should be inserted into the banquet hall. Precisely at that moment, the devil was on his way through the air, with an enormous block under his arm, to crush his victims with. But the bell rang, and its consecrated sound paralyzed the fiendish power. The block tumbled down into the river Poprad, at the foot of the castle, and the devil, furious at the breach of the contract, cursed the unfaithful man and his descendants ; who, in consequence, have ever since been wanting both in money and in credit.

* "Kremnitz hath walls of gold, Schemnitz of silver, and Neushol of copper," is an old Hungarian proverb, having allusion to the various mines in these neighboring towns. There is no ancient fortress or castle in the mining region without its marvelous tradition, and the reader will, perhaps, be amused by the account of the origin of the castle of Schemnitz, as narrated by the miners : There lived in Schemnitz, many

From the 18th of June to the 10th of July, Gorgey's army was almost constantly engaged in battle, in the vicinity of Komorn, against the combined forces of the Austrians and Russians. The Hungarians stubbornly

years ago, when the mines were so productive and the miners so wealthy that all of them had silver nails in their boot soles, a lucky fellow who had found out a way of getting rich faster even than his neighbors; so that they strongly suspected it was not all as honestly obtained as it should be, for in a very short time he became so rich that he could not count his own money. And this was the more readily believed, because his only son died suddenly, and soon after he himself dropped off, and then there was no one left to inherit all the money but his daughter Barbara. Now, during his life the old man had kept his daughter in a very quiet and modest manner; but no sooner was he gone than Miss Barbara determined to be a great lady and enjoy herself. She soon found a set of "loose lemans" who were glad to feed upon the rich miner's daughter; and a bad life they led of it. At last, some of these gentry went so far that they got into the judge's hands, and from his into the hangman's. Now, although the ill luck of her friends rather checked Barbara for a moment, she soon fell into the same evil courses again. It so happened, that from the windows of her house, where she and her companions were wont to feast and revel after their unholy fashion, the bodies of their former friends could be seen dangling to and fro on the gibbets; and at times the rattling of chains was heard above their loud mirth, and gave rise to disagreeable pauses in their merriment. In vain did Barbara solicit the judges to remove the ghastly corpses. No, they had sent them there for her benefit, and there they must hang. At last, however, she promised to build a strong castle on the spot, and to leave it to the town after her death, if they would consent; and so the judges yielded, and the present tower was built. But poor Barbara did not live long enough to enjoy her castle. Notwithstanding many warnings, she still led a lewd life, and continued to make an open mockery of holy things. As she was entertaining a large party of her friends on the pleasant banks of the Gran, on the very day the foundation-stone of the tower was laid, a letter came from a priest, one of her relations, warning her of her sins, and the certainty of poverty if she did not give over her riotous mode of living. "As sure as I shall never see this ring more," said she, casting a valuable ring into the river, "so sure will my riches last as long as

maintained their ground, although vastly outnumbered by the enemy. If they retreated one day, they advanced the next. A defeat on one side of the Danube was counterbalanced by a victory on the other.

At this time Gorgey doubtless entertained treasonable thoughts. He wavered in his policy. He was obviously greatly agitated. His plans were sometimes so unskillful as to lead to the suspicion that he intended to be defeated ; but, if so, when he met the enemy in battle he forgot the treachery contemplated in his tent, and

I want them." When the tower was finished, another great dinner was given ; but in the midst of the feast Barbara turned pale with fear ; for, on carving the fish set before her, she found on her plate the very ring she had thrown into the Gran. From this time, nobody could tell how, but Barbara's money vanished as it were from her—all her wealth appeared to be melting away in spite of her. Another misfortune, too, fell upon her ; her favorite lap-dog—on which she had bestowed all that care and charity which she ought to have given to the poor—died ; and a great trouble its death was to her, though every body else was glad enough that such an ill-tempered cur was gone. Nothing would content its mistress, however, but that it should be buried like a christian. The very next night a terrible storm arose, and a flame of fire came out of the dog's grave, and in the morning a bottomless pit was found where the grave had been ! What with her poverty and her loss, and all the bad things her former friends now began to say about her, Barbara fell sick too, and died, without so much as confessing her sins. Some charitable souls were still willing to bury her, and off they took her in secret to the church-yard ; but a furious hail-storm arose on the way, and the thunder rolled, and the lightning shot over them, so that they were forced to lay the body down and to seek for shelter. No sooner had they done so than a cry was heard in the air, and the hailstones seemed turned into dogs, which all fell on the carcass of poor Barbara, and carried it off to the bottomless pit, where they disappeared and were never seen more. "This," adds Mendnyansky, "happened in the year of our Lord 1570, and was written in the chronicle of Schemnitz ; and, as proof thereof, the maiden's tower may still be seen."

by his energy and military genius, won victories where he had ignominiously determined on defeat.

The most marked success of the Austrians was at Pered. For two days, at the head of only 22,000 men, Gorgey withstood an army three times as numerous. The second day, the enemy were even compelled to retire before his brave Hungarians; but an immense reinforcement of Russians swelled the Austrian army to 95,000, and Gorgey, after a hotly contested battle, on the third day, was forced to retreat.

This victory so pleased Francis Joseph, the young Austrian emperor, that he joined the army and took the chief command. On the 2d of July, he attacked Gorgey at Atsh. The latter had scarcely 40,000 men in the field, while the number of the assailants was 95,000. The Hungarians were victorious. The emperor fled to Raab, where he immediately resigned the command of his army to Haynau, and returned to Vienna. During the day, a fiercer struggle was going on in Gorgey's breast than that on the plain. He apparently sought to terminate that agonizing conflict by meeting a soldier's death in the battle raging around him. Where the combat was fiercest there was Gorgey, conspicuous by his red Hungarian coat and white feather. But none of the balls which decimated his soldiers touched him. The skillfulness evinced in his direction of the movements of his troops, and his extraordinary heroism, restored the confidence of those who had suspected him, and increased the enthusiasm of the army.

In the midst of the rejoicings which followed this victory, a courier arrived from the capital, announcing the removal of Gorgey from the chief command, and

the appointment of Gen. Lazarus Meszaros to supersede him. This decree was doubtless a wise one, for Gorgey had discontinued reporting his movements to the government, and disregarded the orders sent to him by Kossuth. But the decree was promulgated at a most inauspicious moment. It was made the day before the battle of Atsh, and reached the army the day following the victory. Kossuth could not be aware of these fatal circumstances. He only knew that Gorgey had left the capital entirely defenseless, against the express command of the government, although a Russian army was in the neighborhood. At the close of Kossuth's circular to the officers of the army, announcing the recall of Gorgey, he said :

“In the name of liberty and the people, I summon you by your patriotism, of which your heroism and devotion have given such signal proofs, that you shall see this decree punctually executed by your corps, and do all you can to preserve the union, which, in the present dangerous moment, can alone save our country, and indeed the liberty of Europe, and to co-operate now, as you did formerly, for the salvation of our country and of liberty, with your tried fidelity, loyalty, heroism, and disregard of all personal feelings ; and for the same I give you the thanks of the country, the high rewards of self-esteem, and the verdict of history.”

The news of Gorgey's recall spread with great rapidity. It caused much excitement among the troops. Gorgey's adherents, and among them, almost all the field-officers, heightened the excitement by inflammatory remarks and speeches. The secret enemies of the government did all in their power to make the most of

this ill-advised measure. The chief agitator was a Colonel Bayer. He and the commander-in-chief's staff formed henceforward the center of the intrigues among the army against Kossuth. "No, no! Gorgey must remain. We cannot now serve under Meszaros!" was the cry. The latter had come so near the battle-field of Atsh, that he heard the cannonading, and supposing a defeat must ensue, declared "that he would not be taken to please any one," and returned to Pesth. These combined circumstances operated so powerfully, that the army resolved to serve only under Gorgey. From this time onward Gorgey paid no further attention to the government, although Meszaros regularly forwarded, from a safe distance, his orders in regard to military operations. Had Kossuth, instead of sending a letter, made his appearance at head-quarters, he might have succeeded in bringing matters to a proper adjustment, and in enforcing obedience. Gorgey was, indeed, a favorite with the troops, but their affection for him was by no means equal to Kossuth's authority. Gorgey could not have dared to confront the governor of the commonwealth, and refuse to obey his orders. He would have been compelled, at least seemingly, to comply with Kossuth's commands, for such was the power of that extraordinary man, that his appearance gained him all hearts, and the generals who refused to listen to the voice of others, could not have resisted the imposing severity of his attitude, and the energy and persuasion of his words; the troops, their enthusiasm once inflamed, would have regained courage and confidence for the impending struggle. But Kossuth knew not the extreme need of his presence at Komorn.

His energies were devoted to the removal of the stores from Pesth, which was left defenseless by Gorgey, to the city of Szegedin.

Before he recovered from his wound, Gorgey had devised a plan to break through the Austrian army ; then to move toward Croatia, make requisitions of arms there, raise the siege of Peterwardein, and either unite with the army of the south or with the main army of Dembinsky, if that had been forced so far down. The first part of this plan was to be executed by General Klapka. Early in the morning of the 11th of July, the battle commenced at all points, and raged without intermission till three in the afternoon. No advantage was apparent on either side. At last, the battle was decided by the arrival of fresh Russian troops, and Gorgey had no alternative but to retreat toward the Theiss. Komorn was left in command of Gen. Klapka. With the exception of this fortress, the eastern half of Hungary was abandoned to the Austrians. Their Russian allies had advanced from the north, and Hungarian arms were victorious again in the south-eastern portion of the country. At the close of July, Gen. Klapka received his last letter from Kossuth. The great leader's enthusiasm pervaded his letter. It excited a joyful sensation among the troops. It was fraught with that mysterious power which enabled him, in spite of misfortunes and wretchedness, to instill fresh courage and fresh hopes into the hearts of his countrymen. It breathed that devotion to the sacred cause of freedom, that conviction of ultimate success, which alone could nerve him against so fearful an array of danger. He said : " Victory is ours and certain, if we are but

united, and confident in the justice and greatness of our cause. But dissensions must surely destroy us, and if Gorgey's suspicions of the government end as they began, we must, indeed, be prepared for the worst. But I trust that our common danger will unite us and teach us to forget what is past."

The enemy had previously entered Pesth. Upon this, a deep gloom — the fearful forerunner of great calamities — oppressed the residents of that city. The general bitterness against Gorgey increased: he was loudly called a traitor, who was only waiting for a favorable moment to compel his army to capitulate, for the sake of his own personal views, and to satisfy his ambition and hatred. Kossuth was reproached with weakness, for not having long ago brought Gorgey before a court-martial. It was denied that Gorgey's own army — as many had maintained — would have opposed such a measure; because, although the general had ever powerfully worked upon a great part of his officers, yet the common soldiers were sons of the people, upon whom Kossuth's influence ever remained unquestioned. Every one, at this time, felt the heaviness of the approaching storm. The nation, which had proved unconquerable by the number and superior tactics of the once illustrious imperial armies,— which had so valiantly defended its ancient rights, and hereby proved itself worthy of them, this nation was now to be forcibly crushed by the forces of northern despotism. And constitutional Europe had no veto against this illegal violence, designed to crush constitutional freedom.

Gen. Haynau's entrance into Pesth was celebrated by his usual atrocities. On leaving the city to continue

his march, he published the following proclamation, "the terms of which," says a Hungarian author, "are those of a cannibal addressing his victims when gagged and bound :"

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF BUDA AND PESTH :

"I have scarcely made my appearance within your walls, when I leave you with the greater part of my army, to carry my victorious arms onward in pursuit, and to the annihilation of a rebellious enemy. But before I depart, I will express an expectation which I entertain respecting your conduct, and the non-fulfillment of which will certainly be attended with the most grievous consequences for you. I expect that you will zealously and unanimously labor to maintain order and tranquillity in the cities of Buda and Pesth. I expect that you will give that religious observance to all the points of my proclamations of the 19th and 20th inst. which you would give them if they were continually enforced among you. I expect that you will provide for the safety of all and any of the officers and soldiers whom I leave behind, as well as for the safety of the gallant army which is allied with us for the sacred purpose of restoring order. If you allow these, my warnings, to pass by unheeded, if only some of you, in arrant depravity of heart, should dare to scorn them, your fate, the fate of you all, would be *annihilation* ! I will make you responsible one for all, and all for one ; your lives and properties shall be forfeited in expiation of your crimes. Your beautiful city, ye inhabitants of Pesth !—your city, which partly bears the traces of a just chastisement, I will turn into a heap of ruins and

ashes, as a monument of your treason, and as a monument of my revenge. Do you doubt my word? Am I the man who fails in punishing outrages or rewarding merits? Look to the faithless inhabitants of Brescia! They, too, deceived by the leaders of the rebellion, made themselves accomplices to treason. Their fate will show you whether or not I know how to pity rebellious subjects. Look to the chastisement they suffered, and beware, lest by scorning my warning, you will force me to award a similar fate to you.*

“Pesth, 24th July, 1849.”

When Gen. Welden left Pesth in April, and with the main Austrian army retreated toward Presburg, Jellachich, with the wreck of his Croatian army, proceeded down the Danube to protect Croatia, which was

* As Haynau has a brother, history can furnish a parallel to the above proclamation. The brother, employed by a tyrant in one of the petty German states, used the following language to the officers of the army under his command. The speech, of the kind, is inimitable :

“Gentlemen : I have summoned you here to tell you that I have been commissioned by his Royal Highness to crush under foot that pernicious gang that threatens the welfare of the state. Sirs—the question is, who is to rule? This God-abandoned, godless, pernicious gang, or the government which God has set up? We shall soon decide this question here in Cassel, sirs, in this little state. The throne is in danger, and all the thrones in Europe look here, and upon us, upon this little army. I ask you not if you will obey; it is not for that I have called you together. You must obey; for he who obeys not shall have his soldier’s coat pulled off his back, and have a blouse put on him. *It is nothing to you whether the orders given you, sirs, are constitutional or not.* His Royal Highness has sworn to the constitution, and I have full powers from him. I am the constitution for you, sirs, I. If any of you prefer the smile of that gang, or the hand of traitors, to the favor of your Prince, whom God hath set up, I will pull his coat from off his back, and put a blouse on him. Gentlemen, your servant.”

threatened by Gen. Perczal. Of the 65,000 men whom the ban had with adventurous presumption led against Pesth in September, more than one-third had been slain, or were prisoners of war; another portion had returned to their homes, and only 15,000 remained under his command. After being joined by an equal number of Austrians, he resolved to blockade Peterwardein, the most important Hungarian fortress in the south-east, and prevent Perczel from joining the garrison. He, therefore, in May, repeatedly attacked Neusatz, the town under the very walls of Peterwardein, exposed to the cannons of the fortress. But the valiant commanders of the fortress, General Paul Kiss, and Colonel Hollain, kept up so hot a fire against the Croats, who already had penetrated into the town, that they were forced to retire. But Neusatz was set in flames, and was turned into a heap of ashes, in the reiterated struggle between the Hungarians and the Croats. The war continued, without decisive results until July the 14th. General Vetter, who superseded Perczel, directed General Guyon, an English officer in the Hungarian army, to attack the Croats. The same day had been selected by Jellachich, to give battle to the Hungarians. The army of Jellachich was almost totally destroyed. Seven thousand were dead on the field, and three thousand were prisoners. Peterwardein was relieved, and Croatia trembled anew. But the Russian invasion again compelled the Hungarians to concentrate their forces. Guyon and the nucleus of the southern army were obliged to hasten in forced marches to the midland counties, and Jellachich was thus once more saved. In the meantime, the Austrian

General Berger, after a siege of nine months, had surrendered the fortress of Arad. This capitulation was effected on the 1st of July : Tesemvar was the only place yet held by the Austrians on the lower Danube.

Near the middle of July, the Hungarian forces, under Dembinski, collected around Szegedin, which was then the seat of government. The various forces assembled about the city, amounted to over 60,000. But when Haynau approached Szegedin, Dembinski declared the city to be untenable, and then, without offering much resistance to the Austrian forces, retreated to Tesemvar. The large supplies of provisions and munitions of war, in the city, fell into the hands of the enemy. Haynau pursued Dembinski in all haste. Bem, having been compelled to retire from Transylvania, joined the army at Tesemvar, and was placed in command. On the morning of the 9th of August, the battle commenced. At four in the afternoon the enemy were in full retreat. Haynau had fled and was seven miles from the field. But Bem's cannon were suddenly silenced. His ammunition was exhausted. The Austrians turned back. Bem's collar-bone had been broken and he had been taken from the field. Several of the principal officers were killed. Guyon, however, charged upon the enemy's artillery with his hussars. But although Bem's ammunition had failed and he was disabled, the Russians and Austrians had been so severely cut up that they were unable to pursue the Hungarians.

Kossuth was at Arad. When he received intelligence of the battle at Tesemvar, Gorgey had just arrived, having battled his way from Komorn with

wonderful energy and adroitness, between superior forces of Austrians and Russians on his right and on his left. At that time reports were in circulation that the Russians were willing to guarantee to the Hungarians the constitution which Austria was warring to overthrow, and to raise the Grand Duke Constantine, a Russian prince, to the Hungarian throne. Constantine himself was said to have addressed speeches to the Hungarian population, in which he assured them, that the Russians came as friends of the Hungarians; he did not mention the Austrians at all. The Russians, from the very beginning of this invasion, behaved, on the whole, with much more regard for the inhabitants, than the Austrians. It was obvious, that the former courted the sympathies which the latter had spurned.

While the armies of the invaders and the invaded were concentrating in eastern Hungary, Gen. Klapka was retrieving the Hungarian losses in the west. By a series of well-planned movements he broke Haynau's line of communication with Austria, so that, in case of his defeat, his army would be utterly annihilated. Klapka also took immense quantities of ammunition, and other booty, and several thousand prisoners. His recruiting commissions, sent out in the neighboring counties, now wholly freed from the enemy, were very successful, and on the 10th of August, he had become so strong that he contemplated attacking Vienna, which was but feebly defended. When the troops were informed that they were on the eve of another expedition, their exultation was great, for they were confident that fresh battles would result in fresh victories. Says Gen. Klapka: "After the review, the staff-officers dined at

my quarters. It was a merry feast. We drank health and prosperity to Kossuth and Gorgey ; we drank to the liberation of the country, the downfall of Austria, and the future greatness of Hungary. We were still at table, when I was told that a peasant insisted on seeing me on urgent business. I ordered him to be introduced to my presence. A man came forward, whose peasant's dress, worn and travel-stained, cloaked a face and figure which were not those of a stranger. The new comer was Paul Almasi, the Speaker of the Lower House, who told me, in accents broken with grief, that he was a fugitive — that all was lost ! Dembinski was defeated at Szegedin ; Bem's troops were dispersed at Shassburg ; the Parliament was despairing — so was the government. Such was the state of affairs ! He added, that his late successes had enabled Haynau to send a large mass of disposable troops against Komorn. Great was the astonishment of the men and their commanders, when, on the 12th, they were ordered to retreat, instead of to advance. They left the city of Raab ; gloomily and sadly. Its inhabitants stood weeping, and full of dark bodings. They knew that for many a long and weary day to come, they would see no warriors armed for the cause of Hungary — no Hungarian colors fluttering over their heads ! ”

The intelligence was indeed true. Soon after Gorgey arrived at Arad, Kossuth, who measured others by the standard of his own honor, and in spite of what had happened, still doubted Gorgey's villainy, attributing the steps he had taken simply to his ambition and fondness for the highest dignity, resigned in his favor the dictatorship conferred upon himself by twelve millions

of his countrymen. His hope was to satisfy Gorgey's ambition, and thus save the country. The following proclamations announced the resignation of Kossuth and the elevation of Gorgey to supreme power :

KOSSUTH TO THE NATION.

"After the unfortunate battles wherewith God, in these latter days, has visited our people, we have no hope of our successful continuance of the defense against the allied forces of Russia and Austria. Under such circumstances, the salvation of the national existence, and the protection of its fortune, lies in the hands of the leaders of the army. It is my firm conviction that the continuance of the present government would not only prove useless, but also injurious to the nation. Acting upon this conviction, I proclaim, t at — moved by those patriotic feelings which, throughout the course of my life, have impelled me to devote all my thoughts to the country — I, and with me the whole of the Cabinet, resign the guidance of the public affairs ; and that the supreme civil and military power is herewith conferred on the General Arthur Gorgey, until the nation, making use of its right, shall have disposed of that power according to its will. I expect of the said General Gorgey — and I make him responsible to God, the nation, and to history — that, according to the best ability, he will use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence of our poor country, and for its future welfare. May he love his country with that disinterested love which I bear it ! May his endeavors to reconquer the independence and happiness of the nation be crowned with greater success than mine were !

"I have it no longer in my power to assist the country by actions. If my death can benefit it, I will gladly sacrifice my life. May the God of justice and of mercy watch over my poor people!

"LOUIS KOSSUTH."

"ARAD, August 11, 1849."

GORGEY TO THE NATION.

"CITIZENS :—The Provisional Government exists no longer. The Governor and the Ministers have voluntarily resigned their offices. Under these circumstances, a military dictatorship is necessary, and it is I who take it, together with the civil power of the state.

"Citizens! whatever in our precarious position can be done for the country, I intend to do, be it by means of arms or by negotiations. I intend to do all in my power to lessen the painful sacrifice of life and treasure, and to put a stop to persecution, cruelty, and murder.

"Citizens! the events of our time are astounding, and the blows of fate overwhelming! Such a state of things defies all calculation. My only advice and desire is, that you should quietly return to your homes, and that you eschew assisting in the resistance and the combats, even in case your towns are occupied by the enemy. The safety of your persons and properties you can only obtain by quietly staying at the domestic hearth, and by peacefully following the course of your usual occupations.

"Citizens! it is ours to bear whatever it may please God in His inscrutable wisdom to send us. Let our strength be the strength of men, and let us find

fort in the conviction that right and justice *must* weather the storms of all times. Citizens! may God be with us!

“ARTHUR GORGEY.

“ARAD, 11th August, 1849.”

Immediately after issuing the above proclamation, Gen. Gorgey addressed the following letter to the commander of the Russian forces :

“GENERAL! I presume you are familiar with the melancholy history of my country. I will not, therefore, enter into a detail of events which are so ominously connected, and which involved us in a desperate struggle for our legal liberties, in the first instance, and for our existence, in the second. The better — indeed, I may say, the larger — part of the nation, did by no means carelessly brave the chances of such a contest, but once engaged, (and enjoying the support of many honorable men, who, though not Hungarians by birth, came, by the force of circumstances, to be parties in the conflict,) they have honestly, manfully, and victoriously held out to the last.

“But the policy of Europe compelled his majesty, the Czar of Russia, to league with Austria for our overthrow, and for the termination of our war for the Hungarian constitution. Many of our true patriots had foreseen and prophesied the event. History will one day unfold what it was which induced a majority in the provisional government to close their ears against the voices of our patriots.

“The provisional government exists no more. The hour of danger found them most weak. I, who am a **man** of action, (though not of a vain action,) I saw

that all further effusion of blood was useless — that it was fatal for Hungary. I knew this from the commencement of the Russian invasion.

“I have this day called upon the provisional government to make an unconditional resignation, for their continuing in office can not fail still further to cloud and to jeopardize the fortunes of my country. The provisional government became convinced of this truth ; they resigned, and gave the power of the state into my hands.

“I make use of this circumstance for the purpose of preventing a further sacrifice of human life ; and since I am too weak to defend my peaceable fellow-citizens, I will at least liberate them from the miseries of war. I make an unconditional surrender. This act of mine will, perhaps, induce the leaders of other Hungarian armies to follow my example. I place my reliance on the well-known generosity of his majesty, the Czar, trusting that he will consider the case of numbers of my brave comrades, who, as former officers in the Austrian army, are seriously compromised ; and that he will not sacrifice them to a melancholy and uncertain fate. I trust that his majesty will consider the case of the unfortunate people of Hungary, who rely on his love of justice, and that he will not hand them over, helpless and unarmed, to the blind thirst of revenge of their enemies. Perhaps it is enough, if it is I who am the only victim.

“General ! I address this letter to you, because it was you who gave me marks of respect which have gained my confidence.

“If you wish to put a stop to further and useless

sacrifice of human life, I entreat you to take measures that the melancholy act of surrender may take place at your earliest convenience, but in such a manner, that our arms be surrendered *only* to the troops of his majesty the Czar of Russia. For, most solemnly do I protest, I would rather see my corps engaged and annihilated in a desperate battle, no matter against what odds, than make an unconditional surrender to Austrian troops !

“To-morrow, on the 12th of August, I intend to march the troops to Vilāgos. On the 13th, I proceed to Boros-Jeno ; and on the 14th, to Bed. I inform you of these movements, because I wish that you should lead your force between the Austrian troops and mine — that you should surround me, and cut me off from the Austrians.

“In case this maneuver were to prove unsuccessful, and in case the Austrian troops were to pursue ours, I mean to oppose an effective resistance to their attacks, to turn upon Great Warasdin, for the purpose of meeting the army of his majesty the Czar ; for it is to his army alone that my troops are prepared to make a voluntary surrender.

“I expect your reply at your earliest convenience, and I remain, with my assurances of unlimited respect,

“ARTHUR GORGEY.

“OLD ARAD, 11th August, 1849.

“9 o'clock, P. M.”

The treason of Gorgey was consummated. The task of informing the army and the country that he had placed Hungary unconditionally at the feet of its enemies was before him. He first sent away the general

levy, then assembled the superior officers, and declared that the position of Hungary was desperate; that nothing but speedy submission could re-establish peace and save the country; besides, he was not willing to surrender to the Austrians, but to the Russians, who during the whole campaign, had acted as honorable enemies; that a general amnesty would be granted, and if, nevertheless, a sacrifice must fall in expiation of the war, he would offer himself willingly as the victim.

Every one in the army of Gorgey knew that negotiations had been going on already for a long time between the general and the Russians; and so firm was the trust of the officers placed in him, so artfully had he known how to secure their confidence, that there was not one among them, who insisted upon learning the conditions on which they were to surrender, and the guarantees for the fulfillment of the conditions. The most complete and the most interesting account of the final surrender of Gorgey, yet published, was communicated by an Austrian officer to a German paper:

“The hot sun of August 13th, shone with its piercing rays on the parched and silent ranks of the insurgents, whose army was drawn up in two solid columns, on each side of the Szollos road. Groups of officers stood before their battalions, gloomily talking with each other. Staff-officers in their splendid uniforms rode up and down, occasionally speaking a word of encouragement to the faint-hearted; for the usual noisy gayety so peculiar to the Magyars had given place to the most painful depression. ‘Must it be carried so far with us?’ was the despairing cry that arose on every side. Curses, such as no one can command but a

Magyar in trouble, resounded from the closed ranks. Wherever the eye turned, there was lamentation and despair. It seemed like a vast field of death.

"Here were seen the wild features of soldiers alike fearless in war and reckless in peace. Few of those who had broken their oath to their emperor were present to see the victory of the avenging double-headed eagle. On the bloody battle-fields of Hungary, on the shores of the Danube and the Waag, most of them had found their graves. As the flower of Gorgey's army, they were chosen to meet the first shock, and to fight the hardest battle in all cases. Here, as in every hotly-contested battle, the two rivals in bravery, the 'bosom children' of Damjanics and Foldvarg, the third and ninth honved battalions, stood close together. These, the so-called 'redcaps,' formed the *elite* of the honveds. They understood only one command — 'Elore!' (Forward!) and their wild battle-cry, 'Eljen a Magyar!'^{*} (Long live the Magyars!) which they cheerily sounded forth in the thick gunpowder smoke, often produced panic and confusion. 'Third and ninth battalions, elore!' — this cry was heard where the deeds of the most terrific danger were to be performed; a third part, perhaps one-half, fell; but the point was carried.

"The hussars, leaning on their jaded, skeleton-looking horses, seemed to exchange with them one last mute word, and to bid them a final farewell. 'I must leave you and go on foot like a dog,' they murmured in the ear of their trusty companions. The greater part

^{*} "Eljen" is a Magyar word and is pronounced like the English word *allen*. "Eljen Kossuth!" means "Long live Kossuth!" or, as the French would say, "Vive Kossuth!"

regarded this as a misfortune to break their hearts. They would prefer exposing themselves to the greatest dangers. They cast off their laced dolmans in which they took such pride, and bursting through the military shell, tore the saddles from their horses, and rushed off at full gallop, in order to become again what they were before, 'the wild csikos,' (horse-tamers,) of the boundless puszta. Here was the brave regiment of the Ferdinand hussars, with the old war-wolf, their colonel, at their head. It was he who at the council of war at Vilagos, most strenuously opposed the surrender. When he was outvoted, in his rage he threw his heavy saber rattling at the feet of Gorgey, so that the hall resounded with the noise. Within the gloomy walls of Arad, he may well expect in sadness the fearful fate which he anticipated.

"At a little on one side of the main road, a stone bridge leads over a small mountain stream, which, falling on the wheels of the neighboring mill, loses itself in the surrounding meadows. The large yard of this mill was at this moment crowded full with all sorts of vehicles.

"There stood in promiscuous confusion, the splendid four-horse chariot of the minister, and the worn-out, one-horse market-cart; the heavy baggage-wagon, with the light private carriage of the officers, in endless variety. From the tops which protected against the sun, looked out with eager curiosity, the fiery eyes of the fair occupants. In spite of the strict regulations, threats, and even punishments, an innumerable crowd of women, of every description, followed the Magyar army, contributing in no small degree to the demoralization

of the soldiers. As soon as it came to a retreat, what confusion did they not occasion? Then was there a panic, a shrieking, a flying about, as if the enemy had nothing to think of but their beautiful persons. Bem suffered so much from this grievance in Transylvania, that he would often cry out in comic despair, 'I have indeed commanded a larger army, but never so many women.'

"After I had wound my way along, with a great deal of trouble, I reached a small straw-roofed building, the only inn in the place.

"As soon as I entered, I saw the chief commandant, and Gorgey, the Hungarian dictator for the last forty-eight hours. He was dressed in his simple but romantic costume, which differed very much from that of the general-staff who stood around him. In a light-brown blouse, with a golden collar, riding-boots reaching far above the knee, a round black hat surmounted with a waving white feather, he was joking with a pretty young girl, into whose ear he whispered flattering nonsense! I was astonished: a few minutes before the catastrophe effected by him which decided the fate of Hungary, surrounded by men whose visages wore the impression of the deepest despair, could this man, serenely smiling, be exchanging gallantries with a frivolous girl! Was this a forced cheerfulness, or the repose of a pure conscience? Who can decide?

"The general-staff floated around him, their splendor and magnificence recalling the times of Hunyadi and Zriny. Every one was dressed in his most elegant uniform as if for a festival. The sun-burnt, youthful, thin figures in short *Attilas* with heavy gold trimmings,

hats with waving feathers on their heads, mounted on fiery horses, galloping to and fro, formed a group as warlike as the fancy of a painter could describe.

“In the midst of this, a general commotion took place. Gorgey had thrown himself on his horse, and after him his whole glittering suite. It was the last act which was to conclude the grand drama of the Magyar war. The splendid cavalcade had placed itself in motion ; the bridge, unaccustomed to such a burden, groaned under the hoofs of the proudly-prancing horses, while the eye followed the unhappy procession with astonishment and dismay.

“When Gorgey, after the transactions were closed at Vilagos, went into the midst of the army and declared, ‘that he no longer felt it in his power to defend the army, but if any was found willing to assume the command, he would gladly yield it to him ;’ there was but one man ready for the proposal. This was a gray-haired captain of the hussars, who sprang forward, and with tears which he never knew before, falling on his grizzled beard, cried out, ‘It was his wish and that of his comrades to cut their way through, and this must be the feeling of the whole army !’ Gorgey spoke to him privately, and drily remarked, ‘That it was no time to joke, and there were balls enough to crush any mutiny.’

“Only a soldier’s heart can comprehend the feeling with which a man is parted from his arms. Many seemed torn in pieces in helpless agony, others wept as they kissed the cold steel, while a great number shrieked out with rage to be led against the enemy, and not to be subjected to this disgrace. I saw how

officers and men threw themselves into each other's arms, and, sobbing, bid each other farewell. But in other places they raved against the officers, and accused them of selfishness. No pen can describe the woe, the despair, which prevailed among the hussars. He, who felt so much at home on his horse, was now to be dismounted and creep along on foot like the meanest 'baka.' Many shot their horses; and they who would have lost a limb without a groan, sobbed like children.

"During these scenes, Gorgey rode around, proud and immovable as a marble statue of Mars, and it was only now and then that his ringing, metallic voice was heard exhorting them to make haste.

"Meanwhile, the twilight shadows began to fall on the broad fields, and heightened the gloom of the transaction. The poor victims of the war had thrown themselves on the grass, now wet with evening dew; near them were their arms piled in pyramids, the flag in the center, as if it were the grisly skeleton of those battalions, whose ranks had shown so much courage and experienced so many sacrifices.

"But their rest was not of long duration. The Russian escort came galloping up, and, accompanied by them, the Magyars were obliged, the same day, to start one stage toward Zarand. This is the 'guard of honor,' I heard called out in their ranks. The march, under the Russian escort, from Szollos to Sarkad, lasted no less than eight days. Whoever, during this time, should have accidentally fallen upon the ruins of the Hungarian army, would have taken it for one of the motley caravans of the Arabian desert. The sun

poured down his hottest rays on the sandy plains, over which moved an endless throng of carriages, horsemen, and foot-travelers, in the wildest confusion. Every moment the procession stopped, when all began to quarrel, curse, scream, and, for a change, to fisticuff each other. If the roads had been wider, or if the adjacent fields had afforded a tolerably convenient path, the maddest spectacle that can be imagined would have been exhibited. Every one who was not assigned to some special post was obliged to get on the best way he could, and, a general race commencing, there was no lack of petty miseries and comic scenes.

"I could not but be surprised at the imperturbable equanimity and quietness of the Russian escort. Nothing could extort from them a smile or the slightest emotion; they moved on in as cold and measured a manner as if they had been on a parade at their own wintry home. The flying Cossacks were an exception. They soon made friends with the few hussars who were still on horseback, who made themselves very merry at their mode of riding, gave them good advice in regard to this, and took them under their fatherly care.

"During the eight days' captivity, the honored officers were treated as comrades, and in the most friendly manner by the Russians. The higher officers ate at the same table, and small sums were paid out as traveling expenses. The effect of this was to inspire many with the highest hopes. But, as day after day passed, and they were neither summoned to enter into the Russian service, nor Prince Leuchtenberg or the high Prince Constantine was crowned as king of Hungary, by degrees, the stern and fatal reality burst the glittering

soap-bubbles which floated before their imagination. In a few days the Magyar army was transported from Sarkad to Gyul, with the immense number of those compromised in the political movement, and there delivered over to the imperial Austrian troops."

Hungary had fallen — its liberty and nationality were overthrown. The combined forces of European despotism were too mighty to be withstood by a few millions of people, unaided, and weakened by domestic rebellion. Gorgey's treason hastened and aggravated the already too probable catastrophe. The scaffold was soon to be bathed with the blood of many of Hungary's worthiest sons. Kossuth, the noblest of them all, with a few fellow-fugitives, had found a refuge in the dominions of the sultan. Like the gorgeous mirage that so often appears upon the sandy plains of Hungary, a beautiful vision of freedom had been presented to the eyes of the Hungarians, but like that illusory mirage,*

* The singular phenomenon, called the *mirage* or *fata morgana*, is of frequent occurrence on the *pustas* or plains of Hungary. It generally presents the appearance of a wide sea, covering all around, although towns and beautiful woodland scenery sometimes appear. Paget, the English traveler, gives the following description of this singular optical illusion: "It was on the second morning of our journey, and as we opened our eyes after a troubled doze, that another of the most extraordinary phenomena of these plains was presented to us. We perceived what appeared to us a new country, and certainly a very different one from that which we had closed our eyes upon the previous night. A few miles before us lay an extensive lake half enveloped in a gray mist. I immediately called to the coachman to ask what lake it was I saw, as none was to be found on the map, when his loud laugh reminded me that we were in the land of the *mirage*. And sure enough it proved to be the mirage; for, as we approached, the water vanished, and the same dry plain we had known before, was still present to us. On another occasion, when traveling over the plains of Wallachia, I witnessed the

it had vanished on the approach of the hordes of barbarous Russians.

The belief of Gorgey's surrender on secret conditions, and of the excellent treatment of the Hungarian

mirage in a still more striking manner. It was also in the morning, just as a burning sun was struggling to dissipate the thick mist so common in these climates. I could distinguish, as plainly as ever I did any thing in my life, a serpentine piece of water with the most beautiful woods and park-like meadows, and at one end the commencement of a village. As we approached, the scene slightly changed ; new points of view gradually came out, and the object first observed vanished away. The village, which I had believed real even after I knew the landscape was mirage, was the first to disappear ; the water extended itself, and the back-ground rose higher. Before long, objects began to grow less distinct, and at last the mist rose from the earth, leaving the view clear along the burning plain, while trees and water were still discernible in the air." Over the great plain, from the Danube down to Transylvania, are everywhere found the remains of a wall, and a canal, which, without doubt, were of Roman origin, and marked the Roman frontier, like similar walls in England and southern Germany. The Romans, and the nations against whom the wall was erected, were forgotten long before the Hungarians took possession of the country. These therefore knew nothing of the real origin of the walls ; no Roman tradition survived in the plain of the Theiss. But the imagination of the people created a charming legend, in which this wall is connected with the *fata morgana* :

Csorsz, as the shepherds tell, was the gallant son of the king of the Transylvanian Alps, whose treasures of gold and salt were greater than those of all the kings and princes in the world. Csorsz heard of the celestial beauty of Deli Bab, the daughter of the king of the Southern or Adriatic sea, and his heart was inflamed with love for her. He therefore sent his heralds from his Alps down to the borders of the Adriatic, with loads of the most costly gifts of salt and gold, and sued for the hand of the lovely Deli Bab. But the proud king of the sea despised the kings of the earth, and said, that he never would grant the daughter of the sea to the son of the Alps, until he came with a fleet down from his mountains, to convey his bride by water to his palace, as her feet were too delicate to be exposed to the rough stones of the earth. But the heralds, convinced of the power of their king, threw the bridal ring, and

officers, spread with the utmost rapidity. The other generals, to whom Gorgey had written, summoning

the presents of gold and salt into the sea, which, from this time, became rich in salt, and having thus sealed the betrothing, returned to their prince. In despair about the desire of the king of the sea, and ignorant how to comply with his condition, Csorsz called on the devil, and entreated his aid. The devil, without delay, put two buffaloes to his glowing plow, and in a single night dug the canal from Transylvania to the Danube, and from thence down to the sea. Csorsz speedily had a fleet constructed, and joyfully steered down to the Adriatic, to take his bride. Her princely father gave up his daughter with deep regret: however, he was bound by his word, as the new diplomacy was not yet invented, and the pledges of monarchs were still, even in those parts, considered sacred. But the beautiful bride was sorry to leave her cool palace of crystal, her innumerable toys of shells and pearls, and even the monsters of the sea, who had served her with unbounded devotion. She promised not to forget their home, and often to visit her father and sisters in summer, when the hot sunbeams might prove too intense for her on the dry earth. Csorsz, with festive music and merry songs, conveyed his beloved up the canal. Deli Báb was delighted with the mountains, woods, fields, and meadows, which swiftly passed her; she was highly amused with the objects wholly new to her sight. But when by chance she looked backward, she noticed with terror, that behind the fleet the waters dried up in the canal; and that thus the return to her father's realm became impossible. She never could feel at home in the gold and salt vaults of the Transylvanian mountains; the heavy masses of the Alps depressed her soul; the wintry snow chilled her thoughts; the burning beams of the summer-sun melted her into tears. She never laughed, and always dreamed of her transparent abode in the sea. The love of the princely son of the Alps remained sterile; Deli Bab was childless. She melted away with longing, and was transformed into the *fata morgana*, a dreamy appearance of the sea, which vanishes away as soon as you approach, and which, in Hungary, yet bears the name of the fair Deli Bab. The remains of the devil's canal are still called *Csorsz arka*, (the canal of Csorsz.) As for the fleet, on which he conveyed his bride to his home, since it proved useless in the Alps, he sold it to the central government of united Germany, which is asserted to have an affinity with Deli Bab; for which reason also the German Unity, like the *fata morgana*, remains but the shadow of a dream.

them to follow his example, trusted in his deceiving expressions, and laid down their arms one after the other. The first of them was Damjanics, at Arad, where he commanded the fortress, and still was confined to his couch in consequence of a broken leg. Then Count Vecsey, with ten thousand men, gave up unconditionally ; he was followed by Colonel Kazinczy, and the Transylvanian corps ; but these, less trustful than those whose example they imitated, positively stipulated for themselves and their troops—"the same conditions which were granted to Gorgey." The betrayed still relied on the betrayer, and believed, that he had secured guarantees for the country, for his friends, and his soldiers. Many of the Hungarian representatives and commissaries, went to the Russian camp, and gave themselves up. They saw that Kiss and Gorgey were treated with the greatest distinction ; that the Russian General, Anrep, had even intrusted his prisoner of war, the Hungarian General, Lahner, with the duty of supplying provisions to the Russian troops, and conducted a correspondence with the Hungarian authorities. The Hungarians anticipated no artifice : they had not trusted to the Austrians—they trusted to the Russians ! But the Austrians were furious that the Hungarians had nowhere yielded to them, but everywhere to the Russians. Prince Lichtenstein therefore wrote to General Aristides Dessewffy, who still remained in arms, and who in former years had served with the prince in Italy. He invited him with the warmest expressions of friendship, to surrender to his old comrade, who awaited him with open arms. Dessewffy, only for three months happily married—deemed his soldiers

and himself perfectly secured, if he complied with the summons of a man who had formerly been his friend ; so, with his troops, he made a considerable circuit, to lay down arms to no one but Prince Lichtenstein.

The Russians, however, forthwith delivered Arad to Haynau ; and here suspicion of treason awoke, when Hazai, the editor of a journal, was shot, and Colonel Ormay, who had been aid-de-camp to Kossuth, was hanged. In Pancsova, Mr. Lepier, a major on half-pay, was shot, because he had remained major of the place during the sway of the Hungarians ; in Temesvar, Major Murmann was hanged. But in spite of all this, the officers of the Hungarian army still trusted the Russians, and pitied those who, with Kossuth, Meszaros, Perczel, and Guyon, had fled to Turkey. They thought it natural that Bem, Dembinski, Visozki, and Monti, with the Polish and Italian legions, had resorted to those parts ; but why should Hungarians become voluntary exiles, when they could stay in the country ? Only a few of them left, when they still could have fled.

Whether Gorgey saw the fate reserved for his friends, whether he had any notion of the terrible consequences of his deed — who can say ? But it appears that he alternately entertained hope and apprehension, and that, in spite of his iron mind, he sometimes shuddered at himself, and then again imagined that his deed might have blessed consequences for Hungary. As if treachery could ever be justified by its results !

When body after body of the Hungarian troops, at Vilagos, drew up before the Russians, and silently laid down their arms without any surmise of the treachery

Gorgey noticed at his side, young Remenyi, scarcely eighteen years old, and a virtuoso on the violin. This youth had always been at the head-quarters of Gorgey, and often on the eve of a battle, or on the morn after the combat, had enlivened with his sweet melodies the heart of many an officer, and, as a new David, dispelled the gloomy thoughts of the Hungarian chief. Gorgey now called him, and inquired what he was going to do, and whether he was provided with money? Remenyi replied, with the carelessness of a youth, "that with his violin he would fight his way through the world, but as to money he had none." Gorgey emptied his pocket, gave all his gold to Remenyi, untied some golden toys, which were hanging on the chain of his watch, and said: "Take this, my boy, in remembrance of me!" As Remenyi noticed among these trifling jewels a small silver key, he returned it to the General with the observation: "But this key you got of your wife; I can not take it; my lady would be displeased if you gave away what you received from her as a keepsake." "Take it—" said Gorgey, "for after what I have done to-day, my wife will never smile any more upon me!"

Some days afterward, when the Russians conducted Gorgey by upper Hungary and Gallicia into Moravia, there to be given up to the hands of the Austrians, he was in the vicinity of Tokay recognized by the people. All thronged to his carriage, and asked: "What in fact would happen?" Gorgey said: "As yet I may not speak; but in a few weeks all my story will be solved — and the country will bless me!"

It is difficult to read through the soul of a traitor,

and to recognize the cases in which he is sincere ; but it seems the Russians made him verbal promises, which afterward were not fulfilled by the Austrians.

The motives of Gorgey in betraying his country, are not clearly understood. No one supposes he expected to be rewarded with gold or power. If either had been offered him by the enemy it doubtless would have insured his fidelity to his country. The explanation of his conduct is probably to be found in the word *pride*. By talents, by education and by birth, his position was among the higher classes. But he was exceedingly poor, while thrown into constant intercourse with the rich. Proud and sensitive, he felt poignantly the mortification to which, on this account, he was constantly subjected. His inordinate pride was finally goaded into absolute insanity, and he began to regard, with a ferocious hatred, all who were his superiors in position or in public estimation.

Arthur Gorgey was born in 1817, in the vicinity of the Carpathian mountains. At an early age he was sent to a military school, where he soon distinguished himself. He was rapidly promoted to a lieutenancy, and transferred to the Hungarian body-guards at Vienna. Unlike his comrades, who abandoned themselves heedlessly to the gayety of the capital, sacrificing not unfrequently both character and purse, Gorgey sought to avail himself of his position in Vienna, to perfect his military knowledge, despising the routine of frivolous amusements. When Gorgey entered the palatinal hussars as lieutenant, they were quartered in Bohemia. Prince Alfred Windischgratz was at that time commander-in-chief. The prince was a thorough

aristocrat, whose ambition was not to become a great general, but to be the first gentleman of the realm. He believed the aristocracy exclusively privileged to receive commissions in the army. He considered the army as the only support of the state, and that its outward splendor should answer to its position. The regiments under his command were accordingly equipped magnificently, and the officers were led into expenditures above their means. Gorgey was indignant at the prospect of poverty interfering with his promotion; and the more so, as he was aware how much inferior to him in point of talent and knowledge, were his superiors in rank. His social life in the army became intolerable; although accustomed to stoical privations from his youth, it was difficult for him to abstain altogether from the amusements of his comrades, whose extravagance he could not equal: his pride was constantly hurt—his military position seemed to him a mere brilliant misery, and he resolved to quit the army. His superiors, Prince Windischgratz among the rest, regretted to lose so distinguished an officer, and assured him of their assistance; but this very circumstance only strengthened his resolution—he was too proud to owe advancement to such aid. His parents and relatives decidedly opposed his abandoning a career in which he had already overcome the first and chief difficulties; they represented to him how small a fortune he had to inherit, and how insufficient it would be for his future wants. But Gorgey adhered to his determination; he severed all the ties that bound him to the society in which he had moved, and even broke off an engagement with an amiable young lady, to

whom he had long been betrothed, but who, like himself, having no fortune, could not have married him until he had attained the rank of captain. The allowance granted to him by his family, was barely sufficient to clear him from debt, and he stood isolated in the world. He went to the university of Prague. Familiar from his military education with the exact sciences, he now devoted himself to the study of chemistry, and was soon pronounced to be the best pupil in the university. At this period, Gorgey was so straitened in his means, that he lodged in a garret and lived upon two pence a day, his dinner usually consisting of a piece of bread and cold sausage. The originality of his character, and the inflexible determination with which he submitted to every privation, won the heart of a young lady of fortune. But Gorgey fancied that he discerned in her attachment a mixture of pity, and he withdrew from the match. The companion whom Gorgey selected was one who might, in every respect, look up to him : he married a French governess as poor as himself, and relinquished all claim to his title of nobility.

Many anecdotes are told of Gorgey's pride and self-denial. When he was in Bielitz, in very difficult circumstances, a friend offered him cigars ; although he was passionately fond of smoking, he would not take them, saying that he would smoke no cigars, even if given to him, till he was abundantly able to buy them. After the action of Waitzen, he passed the whole night in a fast-falling rain, on an open wagon in a court-yard, while all his aids were comfortably lying in beds. Except for washing he did not undress during the whole campaign. Till the month of June, 1849, he wore one

seal-skin coat, which he had won from an officer at cards. It then suddenly occurred to him to clothe himself quite brilliantly. He had a coat made of a light red color and ornamented with very broad bands of gold lace, and led all attacks and assaults in this uniform, which was well known to the enemy. In battle he was often observed sitting quietly on his horse, with pistols in hand—but *not for the enemy*. The moment he saw a man flinch, he shot him, as unrelentingly as if he had been a dog. He seemed to others, utterly cold and indifferent to what men usually long after. He always professed, amid his most splendid achievements, that he would rather be teaching chemistry than leading an army. When Kossuth sent him, on one occasion, 200,000 guilders, (100,000 dollars,) to make a provision for his future, and, in order not to offend him, inclosed it to his wife, he sent it back, with the remark: "If I fall, I shall not need it, and my wife can be governess again, as she was before; if we are conquered, and I escape, I can be professor abroad; if we conquer, and I survive the victory, I need no money now!"

Gorgey was the sternest revolutionist in the Hungarian war. He would give sentence of death, and look upon its execution with the utmost calmness. Nothing could move him to change his decision. His career commenced in a characteristic way, by his hanging up, when he was only a major, one of the first noblemen of Hungary, for treachery, as sternly and indifferently as if the man had been a runaway drummer. The affair made a great noise, and brought his name very prominently before the public. His after

course was consistent with this — as cool in a discharge of grape, as he was at the council-board. His chief excellencies as a general, were extraordinary courage, coolness and foresight, great energy so long as he was in the presence of the enemy, and a peculiar talent of haranguing his troops. Gorgey never had the least sympathy with either the virtues or the weaknesses of his countrymen. A man of cold, stern nature, of few words and tremendous deed, he always laughed over the Magyar fire, and eloquence and patriotism. He was almost the only man in Hungary, who was perfectly indifferent under Kossuth's eloquence. He was unspeakably jealous of Kossuth, and would rather see Hungary a hundred times ruined than that it should conquer under him! But, in consistency with his character, he was determined his treachery should not be forced upon him, and he did not consummate it until he had shown, by a masterly retreat, and a series of splendid maneuvers, what he might have done, had he so willed. Whatever may be said of his early course, for his last act of unconditional surrender and betrayal at Villagos, no excuse or palliation can be found. He could not have lost more, had he fought out the war, to the last inch of ground on the Hungarian pusztas. All his faithful comrades who had stood by his side in many a hard-fought field, and had messed at his table, were left to the gallows or the axe. The brave soldiers who had followed him through his long and weary retreat, with unshaken confidence and love, believing that "their Gorgey" would come out right at last, were abandoned to Austrian dungeons, or left to be drafted into the "imperial regiments." He saved

nothing but his own miserable life. No man in Hungary believes that he did this act of malignant treachery for gold. It was all from his diabolical pride. His reward has been poor enough : a residence in a small town of Styria, under the inspection of Austrian spies; a narrow stipend from government, and the howl of detestation and wrath following him from the whole Hungarian nation. He is said to be pursuing his study of chemistry quietly in Klagenfurt, where probably he will die. The bitterest punishment for the proud man, the scorn and contempt of the world, has met him, and we may leave him to it. History will draw his course as a short one, but a strange one. A career, brilliant with a few strokes of magnificent genius, but blackened by a satanic pride, and by one malignant act of gigantic treachery.*

Two fortresses were still in the hands of the Hungarians. The commanders of Peterwardein and Komorn refused submission, in spite of Gorgey's summons and the entreaties from other quarters to the same effect. General Kiss wrote from the Russian camp to General Klapka at Komorn. This letter expressed the perfect confidence of Kiss in a conciliatory future, and his conviction that an amnesty would certainly be granted as soon as Komorn should have surrendered. Peterwardein, indeed, at last gave way without stipulations, relying on the honor of the Austrian generals. The

* Many of the above facts in regard to Gorgey, were communicated to the New York Tribune, by Mr. Charles L. Brace, an intellectual young American traveler, who visited Europe in 1850, and whose letters to the New York Tribune, and New York Independent, attracted an unusual share of public attention.

garrison long refused to lay down their arms, but were overpersuaded by the officers.

Gen. Klapka defended Komorn until the 1st of October, when he surrendered on terms beneficial to the country, favorable to the garrison and honorable to himself. The scene that followed, is thus described by Col. Pragay, one of the officers at Komorn: "It was a heart-rending scene when our brave troops—many of them victors in thirty or more battles—were obliged to give up their arms to an enemy who had always fled before them; but the country demanded their preservation, and they yielded with bursting hearts, but with manly firmness, to their fate. But of the banners that had waved before them in so many glorious contests, each one would take with him a little shred—a talisman to keep the past ever fresh in memory, and to rouse to new deeds of heroism in the future—they were torn into as many parts as there were men who had fought under them. The sixth regiment of hussars, in the sally of the 3d of August, had thrice charged the hostile Uhlans through the masses of infantry, and thrice defeated them. When Klapka, in accordance with the first article, and in presence of the whole staff of the enemy, asked if there were any in this regiment who would step forward in token of their wish to enter the Austrian service—he was met with the reply, 'Nay, sir, we will serve our Hungarian father-land, but Austria never.' Tears of gladness started from Klapka's eyes, and, paying no heed to the foreign generals, he galloped off with the bold, confident feeling of hope for a speedy and successful restoration of the good cause."

CHAPTER VII.

KOSSUTH THE EXILE.

KOSSUTH was an exile ! Before he left the soil of his native land, and entered Turkey, he knelt down, opened his arms, as if to embrace the loved country from which he was forced to depart, kissed the earth, moistened and sanctified by the blood of those who had died fighting for its freedom, and after a prayer to the Disposer of all events, the feelings of his heart found expression in the following

FAREWELL TO HIS FATHER-LAND.

“ God be with thee, my beloved father-land ! God be with thee, father-land of the Magyars ! God be with thee, land of tortures ! I shall not be able to behold the summits of thy mountains ; no more shall I be able to call my father-land — the soil, where, on the mother’s heart, I imbibed the milk of freedom and justice !

“ Pardon me, my father-land, me who am condemned to wander about far from thee, because I strove in thy welfare ; pardon me, who no more can call any thing *free*, but the small place where I am now kneeling down with a few of thy sons. My looks fall upon thee, O, poor father-land ! I see thee bent down with sufferings ! I now turn them to futurity ; thy future is nothing but a great grief ! Thy plains are moistened with

crimson gore, which will soon be blackened by unmerciful devastation and destruction, as if to mourn over the many conquests which thy sons have achieved over the accursed enemies of thy hallowed soil. How many grateful hearts lifted up their prayers to the throne of the Almighty! How many tears have flowed, which would even have moved hell to compassion! How many streams of blood have run, as proofs, how the Hungarian loves his father-land, and how he can *die* for it! and yet hast thou, beloved father-land, become a slave!

“Thy beloved sons are chained and dragged away like slaves, destined to fetter again every thing that is holy; to become serviceable to all that is unholy! O Lord, if thou lovest thy people, whose heroic ancestors thou didst enable to conquer, under Arpad, amid so manifold dangers, I beseech Thee, and I implore Thee, O humble it not!

“Behold, my dear father-land, thus speaks to thee thy son, in the whirlwind of troubles and despair, on thy utmost boundary!

“Pardon me, if the great number of thy sons have shed their blood for my sake, or rather for thine, because I was their representative; because I protected thee, when on thy brow was written in letters of blood the word “DANGER!” because I, when it was called unto thee, “Be a slave!” took up the word for thee; because I girded on my sword when the enemy had the audacity to say, “Thou art no more a nation!” in the land of the Magyars!

“With gigantic paces time rolled on—with black, yellow letters FATE wrote on the pages of thy history

“death !” and to stamp the seal upon it, it called the northern Colossus to assist. But the reddening morning dawn of the south will melt this seal !

“Behold, my dear father-land, for thee, who hast shed so much of thy blood, there is not even compassion, because on thy hills, which are towered up by the bones of thy sons, tyranny earns her bread.

“O see, my dear father-land ! the ungrateful, whom thou didst nourish from the fat of thy plenitude, has turned against thee, against thee has turned the traitor, to destroy thee from the head to the sole of thy foot ! But thou, noble nation, hast endured all this ; thou hast not cursed thy fate, because in thy bosom, over all suffering, HOPE is enshrined.

“Magyars ! turn your looks not from me ; for even at this moment my tears flow only for you, and the soil, on which I am kneeling, yet bears your name !

“Thou art fallen, truest of nations ! thou art thrust down under thine own blow ! not the weapon of a foreign enemy, which has dug thy grave ; not the cannons of the many nations, who were brought up against thee—they have tottered at thy love to thy father-land ! not the Muscovites, who have crawled over the Carpathians, have compelled thee to lay down thine arms. O no ! sold thou wast, dear father-land. Thy sentence of death, beloved father-land, was written by him, whose love to his country I never questioned for a moment. In the bold flight of my thoughts, I would rather have doubted the existence of a good man than that I could have thought he could have become the traitor of his father-land !

“And thou hast been betrayed by him, in whose

lands, a few days ago, I laid the government of our country, who has sworn to defend thee with the last drop of his blood. He became a traitor to his country, because the color of gold was dearer to him than that of blood, which was shed for the independence of the father-land. The profane metal had in his eyes more value than the holy God of his land, who forsook him, when he entered into a covenant with the associates of the devil !

“Magyars ! my dear fellow-sons of the same country ! do not accuse me, because I was compelled to cast my eye on this man, and to vacate my place for him. I was obliged to do so because the people placed confidence in him, because the army loved him, and he had already attained to a position, in which he could have proved his fidelity ! and yet that man abused the confidence of the nation, and in return for the love of his nation treated them with contempt !

“Curse him, people of the Magyars ! curse the heart, which did not dry up, when it attempted to nourish him with the moisture of life !

“I love thee, Europe’s truest nation ! as I love the freedom for which thou fought so bravely ! The God of liberty will never blot you out from His memory. Be blessed for evermore ! My principles were those of Washington, though my deeds were not those of William Tell ! I wish for a free nation, free as God only can create man — and thou art dead, because thy winter has arrived ; but this will not last so long as thy fellow-sufferer, languishing under the sky of Siberia. No, fifteen nations have dug thy grave, the thousands of the sixteenth will arrive, to save thee !

“Be faithful as hitherto ; keep to the holy sentence of the Bible, pray for thy liberation, and then chant thy national hymns, when the mountains re-echo the thunder of the cannons of thy liberators ! God be with you, dear comrades and fellow-sufferers ! The angels of God and liberty be with you ! You may still be proud, for the lion of Europe had to be aroused to conquer the rebels ! The whole civilized world has admired you as heroes, and the cause of the heroic nations will be supported by the freest of the free nations on earth !”

Kossuth, with several thousand soldiers, from the armies of Bem and Dembinski, found a refuge at Widdin, a Turkish city, situated on the Danube. The exiled chieftain occupied a house of the poorest description. He was joined by several members of the late government, and by those generals who were unwilling to place themselves in the power of either Russians or Austrians. Among them were Bem, Perczel and Dembinski. The Hungarian soldiers were encamped on the Danube, and were surrounded by a cordon of Turkish infantry. Kossuth was in reality a prisoner — neither he nor his companions were permitted to pass beyond the limits of the city without a Turkish escort. All suffered greatly from want of sufficient shelter and provisions. Of the five thousand soldiers, nearly four hundred died of the cholera in a short time.

The intelligence of the fall of Komorn had scarcely reached the exiles at Widdin, when they were informed that Haynau had commenced a series of most unwarranted butcheries. Executions were taking place in all

parts of the country. At Arad, on the 6th of October, twelve of the most conspicuous Hungarian patriots were delivered into the hands of executioners by Haynau's command. Foremost among them was Count Batthyanyi.

COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI was a scion of one of the noblest and most ancient among the Hungarian families, of which the members in all times were distinguished by their patriotism and the devotion they showed to the cause of the Hungarian throne and people. He was, for many years, the leader of the opposition in the upper house of the Hungarian parliament. Every one of his words and actions shows the impress of patriotism, and an untiring zeal for the maintenance of the laws. In the month of March, 1848, king Ferdinand summoned him to form the first independent Hungarian cabinet. While in office, he strictly adhered to the constitution of the country, and to the laws which the king's oath had made doubly sacred. When the intentions of the court became more manifest, and the dangers which threatened Hungary more imminent, he repaired repeatedly to the king's court at Innspruck, where he was each time imposed upon by the most loyal assurances, by energetic decrees against the "traitor" Jellachich, and in favor of the Hungarian administration.

When, in consequence of these disgraceful intrigues, the Hungarian cabinet was compelled to abdicate, the duties of the government were, by the command of the palatine, and with the king's consent, given into his hands. In a time of unequalled difficulty and danger, he protected the nation to the best of his abilities, and

these abilities were great. He was alive to the dangers which must accrue from the disappointment and the vexation of the people, when they found they had been imposed upon by the king : he attempted to repress the movement of their passions, for he knew that the popular passions, if once unfettered, cannot possibly be pressed back within the limits of the law ; and he sought, at any price, unless it were at the cost of his honor, his patriotism, and at the expense of the confidence of the people, to negotiate and interfere between the nation and the king. For this purpose he left Pesth in the last days of September, 1848, for Vienna ; but when he saw that all his endeavors were vain — when he saw that secret powers were at work to oppose and defeat all his steps, and that no benefit could accrue to the country from his struggles in that direction, he resigned his office and retired to his estates in the county of Eisenburg.

When Jellachich invaded Hungary, Batthyanyi entered the ranks of the national guard, but a fall from his horse compelled him to give up all thought of aiding his country in the field. In December, he returned to Pesth : he took part in the proceedings of the Parliament, and, notwithstanding the insults he had received from the court — notwithstanding the aspersions which the zealous members of the opposition cast at his endeavors to negotiate between the king and the country, he was untiring in pursuing that great and noble end.

He was a member of the deputation which the parliament sent to the head-quarters of Prince Windischgratz.* The Austrian general refused to see Count

* In January, 1849.

Batthyanyi; and he told the other members of the deputation that he would not treat with rebels, and that nothing would satisfy him but the unconditional surrender of the capital, and of the country. Count Batthyanyi was arrested. When the Anstrians entered Pesth, he was liberated on parole; but, shortly afterward, he was again arrested, and tried by a court which, according to the constitution of the country, had no jurisdiction in his case, while the indictment was based upon laws which were not the laws of his country.

Batthyanyi heard his unjust sentence with tranquillity and composure; he took leave of his wife, and endeavored in the course of the night to open the veins of his neck, by means of a blunt paper-knife, and thus to escape the gallows. But his attempt was discovered, and, though he lost much blood, the surgeons succeeded in preserving his life. Still it was the opinion of the medical men, that the sentence, as pronounced by the court-martial, could not be executed, and he was condemned to be shot.

At the appointed time, the doors of the prison were thrown open, and Count Batthyanyi left his cell. He was weak with the loss of blood, but his face was serene, his bearing majestic. His eyes were bound up. He raised his hands, and with his last words — "*Eljen a' haza!*" — "God bless the country!" — rang the reports of the three rifles, and Louis Batthyanyi had ceased to breathe. He died as he lived — calm, majestic, and innocent — worshiped by his nation, respected by the world, and leaving his assassins to the just detestation of posterity.

GEN. JOHN DAMJANICS, another of the victims of Haynau's bloody cruelty on the 6th of October, was one of the most distinguished generals of the Hungarian army. Even before the movements in March, 1848, he was a bold and zealous champion of the Hungarian cause. He was a soldier and a patriot. At a later period, when he belonged to the garrison of Temesvar, he carried on a fierce opposition against the abuses which the military authorities of that place fostered, in contempt of the decrees of the king and the cabinet. He was, in consequence, sent to Italy; but the Hungarian government protected him, by promoting him to the rank of major in the third honved battalion. He returned from Italy, and took the command of this battalion, which, under his command, gave many proofs of an adventurous bravery. It was in consequence of the events at Temesvar, that he was honored with the personal dislike of General Haynau, who, at that time, made an unsuccessful attempt to ruin him.

In his station as major of a battalion, Damjanics gave signal proofs of his gallantry and distinguished military talents. He was just, though severe, and his battalion, and, at a later period, the corps under his command, loved him as a father.

In November and December, 1848, having been promoted to the ranks of lieutenant-colonel and colonel, he, with the generals Kiss and Vetter, commanded the corps against, and assisted in reducing, the Servians in the Banat. He was himself a Servian, and when he was summoned to retire with his victorious troops to Debreczin, he issued a most majestic proclamation to

his misguided countrymen. He threatened them with utter destruction if they continued in their furious career of plunder and murder. His concluding words were : " If I come back and find that you have again been burning, robbing and murdering, I will burn down your houses, and put to death yourself and your parents and children ; and on the grave of my nation I will shoot myself, that not one of the accursed race may survive, which breaks its allegiance ! "

Such a style of address was necessary with the wild Servians, who, in their religious and political fanaticism, practiced unheard-of tortures on their unfortunate prisoners of war. These ferocious hordes had, in the beginning of the struggle with the Hungarians, taken prisoner a young volunteer, a native of the German town of Weisskirchen. The parents of the lad, who were wealthy citizens, sent to the hostile camp the offer of a ransom for their son. On the following day the Serbs sent the son to his parents, but — roasted alive.

Damjanics knew how to use that language which alone could be understood by his infuriated countrymen : but in actual deeds, his own generous nature dictated to him how to deal with his adversaries. After the battle of Szolnok, when the defeated Austrians left considerable booty behind them, Damjanics sent after the retreating imperial officers, their private luggage, which had likewise been captured by his soldiers. The Hungarian general said, that private property, although the enemy's, was to be respected.

In more than thirty battles, Damjanics was the victor. But for a time he was detained from active service by a broken leg. His being disabled was the worst of

misfortunes for Hungary ; for if he had remained in the army, Gorgey could never have consummated his treachery. He had already formed an opposition to that general's ambitious plans ; and, by his own popularity in the army, would have been sure to frustrate them. His popularity was not attributable solely to his bravery, although he equaled any of those most noted for personal courage ; but he was likewise regarded as a father by his soldiers. Strict in service with his subordinates, he treated all of them perfectly as his equals in daily intercourse. He shared the food, as well as all the interests, of the common soldiers. After the battle, in which he ever was to be seen foremost, he sought and visited the wounded, and attended to them with his own hands. Brave as the bravest, he had the affectionate kind-heartedness of a child ; and therefore he was equally looked up to and beloved by all who surrounded him. He was one of the generals most sincerely attached to Kossuth. When Kossuth visited him in Pesth, and found him stretched on a couch with his broken leg, the governor sorrowfully said : " Might I but sacrifice my hand, if thus your foot could be recovered ! " Damjanics replied, " Better that this can not be, because I would then redeem your hand with my life."

Damjanics was at all times distinguished for coolness, courage, and composure, even in the midst of danger ; and these qualities, combined with his patriotism, and his proficiency in the military sciences, insured victory wherever he commanded.

When, after Gorgey's surrender at Villagos, the Austrians entered the cities of old and new Arad, and

summoned him to surrender, he returned the curt reply: "This fortress will not negotiate!" Another messenger was sent, who informed him of the manner and the extent of Gorgey's surrender. Damjanics replied to a second invitation to name his terms: "This fortress surrenders to a Russian Cossack, but it will fight to the last against the whole Austrian army!" The Russian general, Buturlin, was consequently instructed to negotiate with, and to occupy the fortress, and a capitulation was agreed upon, according to which, the officers and men of the garrison should be free to leave the fortress and to retain their private property. Damjanics left the fortress; but in flagrant violation of the terms of the capitulation, he was arrested, taken back to Arad, and sentenced to death. The fracture of his leg prevented him from walking; he was therefore placed in a carriage and taken to the scaffold, where, for four hours, he was a spectator of the execution and the death-struggles of his friends. He bore all and every thing, even the ill-treatment to which his suffering limb was subjected, with the greatest composure. Unsubdued by sickness and adversity, he made but one remark: "Ever the first in battle, why am I the last to ascend the gallows?"

GENERAL ERNEST KISS was also among the victims at Arad, on the 6th of October. He was among the bravest leaders of the Hungarian army. He was a wealthy proprietor, owning twenty-three villages, and was a man of excessive personal elegance, as well as of chivalric courage. He regularly sent his linen all the way from Hungary to Paris to be washed, and was, in similar respects, a D'Orsay as well as a Bayard.

His coolness in danger was very remarkable ; and it is told of him that on one day, within reach of an Austrian battery, making an observation, he ordered his servant to bring him a cup of chocolate. A shot took it from his hand and killed his horse. "Clumsy rascals !" said Kiss, "they have upset my breakfast."

While the war raged in the south-eastern portion of Hungary, his estates were devastated and his castles destroyed. But notwithstanding these losses, he remained faithful to the cause of his country. Though accustomed to all the luxuries of life, he courted privations and fatigue. Noble and generous in his dealings with others, he was but too easy a prey to the hypocrisy of his enemies ; and in September, when sentence of death had already been pronounced against him, he was induced, in a letter to the garrison of Komorn, to represent his own condition and that of his comrades in a favorable light. When taken out, with three others, to be shot, he was superbly dressed. The order was given to fire, and his companions fell, while he stood untouched. "You have forgotten me," said Kiss, in his usual tone of voice. The corporal of the platoon stepped up and fired, and, the ball striking him in the forehead, he fell dead without a struggle. He was calm and resigned to the last, and died as a martyr to his loyalty and to his principles. His estates, to the amount of many millions of florins, were confiscated. The desire of revenge which animated his enemies, was, in this instance, sharpened by their rapacity. General Kiss was liberal in thought, and liberal in action. When in the Austrian service, he had obliged many of his comrades by lending them large sums of

money. Prince Schwartzenberg paid the debts of his companions by murdering their creditor.

The remaining victims at Arad, had taken a conspicuous part in the war of liberation. They died with fortitude, and expressed, with their last breath, the most ardent attachment to their country. Throughout all Hungary, the rope and the bullet were engaged in the bloody work of destroying those who had been prominent in the war of resistance to Austrian despotism. The victims of lawless power proved to be as heroic as they were unfortunate. They met their doom with firmness and composure. Csanyi, a distinguished nobleman, placed the rope around his own neck. Perenyi, when the accusation against him was read, and he was called upon for his defense, replied to the court-martial: "I have to complain that the accusation is incomplete: I request to add, that I was the first to press the resolution that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine should be declared to have forfeited the throne of Hungary." Jeszenak's last words were: "I die tranquilly for my father-land, and well know that our deaths will be revenged!"

All parties and classes, the Russian generals not excepted, expressed their horror at the terrible scenes of Arad and elsewhere, and their intense disapprobation of the ministers, who fancied that the throne of Austria was to be supported by bayonets, scaffolds, and sanguinary hatred. The Viennese ministry saw that it could not continue such a course, and began to apprehend that the executed men might in future prove to it even more dangerous than those who survived. Their mode of proceeding was changed. Dungeons were

thought to be less painfully striking than the gallows! Such torture, therefore, was now deemed sufficient by the Viennese rulers. The colonels of the Hungarian army were sentenced to eighteen, the majors to sixteen years' imprisonment, and seventy thousand private soldiers, who had taken part in the war, were forced into the Austrian ranks. Heavy fines and contributions were levied to fill the empty treasury, and to crush the proud Hungarian aristocracy, which had nobly joined the cause of the people, and freely staked property and life on the result.

While the exiles were mourning over the melancholy fate of their brother patriots, who had fallen into the hands of Haynau, the astounding intelligence was received, that Russia and Austria had required the sultan to return the refugees to Hungary! A portion of the sultan's advisers were in favor of giving up the Hungarians — others opposed the measure as barbarous and disgraceful. None of the foreign ministers at the court of the sultan, could promise him the support of their government, if he should refuse to comply with the demands of Russia and Austria. Thus, entirely unsupported, there was great danger to Turkey in encountering the enmity of those governments. Some of the Turkish ministers finally suggested that the refugees should turn Mohammedans! The Koran condemns, as an unpardonable crime, the delivery of a true muselman to his enemies. By adopting the faith of the Turks the Hungarians would be safe. When the subject was mentioned to them, many were disposed to yield. The conduct of Kossuth, under these solemn circumstances, was truly heroic. He rose in the council

held in his room, on the occasion, and said with that inspired and inspiring enthusiasm peculiar to him : "That he did not pretend to control the conduct of any of his compatriots. That every man's religious convictions were a matter that rested only between himself and God—that consistently with that sincerity and truth to which he had always rigidly adhered, he could hold out no hope that if they refused the offer made them, their extradition could be averted, and if given up to Austria, he knew its cabinet too well to allow them to cherish for a moment the illusion that any mercy would be shown. But, nevertheless, for his own part, he would, when asked to abjure the faith of his forefathers, through terror of the executioner, welcome first the gibbet and the block!" and he concluded by denouncing curses on the tongue which should dare propose to him any thing so infamous.

The other Hungarian leaders, with the exception of Bem, spurned the proposition with equal energy. Bem, however, accepted the offer eagerly. This course was in no degree attributable to fear. He had, in reality, no religion to give up. He lived only to war against Russia. The Turkish army needed discipline—it also needed officers. And in order to be received into the army, in the hope that he might yet lead the Turkish troops against the Russians, he adopted the faith of the prophet. An honorable appointment was given him, and with his accustomed enthusiasm and activity he began the work of organizing and disciplining the Turkish army.

But while the cabinet of the sultan hesitated what course to pursue in regard to the fugitives, his resolution

was taken. He would not assist in the execution of Kossuth and his followers, by returning them to Austria. They had sought for safety in his dominions and he was determined to protect them. Kossuth was accordingly taken to Shumla, a city more remote from the Austrian frontier than Widdin.

At Shumla, Kossuth had the inexpressible happiness of meeting his wife and children, from whom he had been separated five months, and of whose fate he entertained the most painful apprehensions.

The unexpected surrender of Gorgey, immediately after he had assumed the authority of dictator of Hungary, left Kossuth no alternative but flight. Before leaving Arad, he separated from his wife and children, and their parting scene is said to have been one of the most touching nature. Under the circumstances of the moment, it was a subject of even more than doubt whether they would ever again meet on earth. It was only when a young Hungarian nobleman, named Ashbot, had solemnly sworn to Madame Kossuth that he would never leave her husband, that she consented to be separated from him, and seek safety in flight. The children were confided to the care of one of Kossuth's private secretaries, and this individual subsequently delivered them up to the tender mercies of Haynau, for the purpose of securing his own pardon and safety. The children set out before their mother, and the latter, in her flight, endeavored to keep at least so near to them as to hear now and then of their safety.

Madame Kossuth sought out a brother of hers residing in the town of Vilagos, who is now imprisoned in

the fortress of Komorn, with many others of the unfortunate Hungarian patriots, for eighteen years, on account of the succor which he then gave to his sister. Leaving him, she next went in search of her children, and wandering to a *pesta*, or farm-house, of Boeksak, belonging to a relative. There she fell ill of a typhus fever, which nearly ended her life ; and when so far recovered as to be able again to travel, she continued her journey in search of her children. She soon learned that they had been given up by their protector to the Austrian General Haynau, and taken to Pesth. Her own safety depended wholly upon the fidelity of the Hungarian peasants, and on their attachment to her husband.

Now, having no other object in view than her own safety, without friends better off than herself, she soon became reduced to a state of complete destitution. In disguise, she wandered over the most miserable part of Hungary. She even, as a means of safety, as well as support, sought for service as a servant, and by telling that she was a poor woman who had just been discharged from a public hospital—which, indeed, she very much resembled—was so fortunate as to find employment in the family of a humble carpenter, in the town of Orash Haya, who little thought he was served by the lady of Louis Kossuth, the late governor of Hungary. Everywhere notices were exposed in the streets offering forty thousand florins for her capture, and proclaiming death as the punishment of the person who should dare to harbor or conceal her from the authorities.

Among the persons who fled with Kossuth before

the overwhelming number of his enemies, was an elderly lady, whom it is necessary to designate as Madame L——, and who, from being unable to ride as fast and as long as those who were stronger and younger than herself, soon became exhausted, and was left behind. She had a son, a major in the Hungarian army, near the person of the governor, and both the son and mother were warmly attached to his interests. Madame L——, when unable to proceed longer with the fugitives, in order to reach a place of safety in the dominions of the sultan of Turkey, determined to remain in Hungary, and devote herself to the finding of Madame Kossuth, and restoring her to her husband.

For this benevolent purpose, Madame L—— disguised herself as a beggar; and after a long and weary journey, oftener on foot than in any conveyance, she crossed the vast sandy plains of southern Hungary, and at length reached the place in which Kossuth's children were, but could hear nothing of their mother.

She learned that the children had been sent, soon after their mother lost sight of them, to the house of General G——, to be kept with his own three children, hoping that they would thus be screened from those that sought after them. The eldest, named Louis, after his father, was seven years of age; and all were told that if they acknowledged they were the children of the governor, they would be imprisoned by the Austrians, and never see their parents again. So that when an Austrian officer traced them to the house of General G——, he was at a loss to know which of the children were those of General G——, and which

those of Kossuth ; and approaching the eldest of the latter, he said, " So, my little man, you are the son of the governor ? " To this question the lad replied evasively. His caution surprised and vexed the officer, who was certain from the statement of their betrayer, that those before him were the long-lost treasure of his ambitious search. He endeavored to frighten the children, and drawing a pistol, directed it to the breast of the boy, and said that if he did not at once acknowledge that he was the son of Kossuth, he would put a ball through his heart. Young Louis firmly refused to do so. The officer, baffled by the child's simplicity of manner and apparent sincerity, was divested of his convictions, and led to believe that he had been imposed upon.

But before Madame L —— could get near them, other agents of the Austrian government had been more successful, and the three children had been carried off in secret to Pesth, near the clutches of the butcher Haynau. The mother and sister of M. Kossuth had also been captured, and placed in strict confinement. It may be here mentioned, in this little narrative of the sufferings and deliverance of the relatives of Louis Kossuth, that Madame L ——, on finding where and how his children were situated, found out her own maid-servant, and so succeeded as to have her engaged at Pesth as their nurse. This person never left them until the moment of their final deliverance from their Austrian jailers was arrived. After thus having provided for the welfare of the children of M. Kossuth, Madame L —— renewed her search for their destitute, suffering mother.

Finding no trace of her, Madame L—— determined to follow the fugitives, and if she reached Widdin, to ascertain from Kossuth himself where his poor wife had gone, and then return in search of her. Continuing in the disguise of a beggar, sometimes on foot, at others in a farmer's cart, this heroic woman reached the frontiers of Hungary, and crossing them, entered the fortified and walled town of Widdin, where the late governor of Hungary, and his brave but unfortunate companions then were, enjoying the protection and hospitality of the sultan of Turkey. Madame L—— applied to Kossuth, but not being known to him personally, and the Austrian general having set so high a price on the capture of his wife, he at first regarded her in the light of an Austrian spy. Having, however, soon found her son, who had followed the governor into Turkey, he readily convinced Kossuth of the identity of his mother. All the information which Kossuth could give her was, that there was a lady in Hungary in whose house he believed his wife would seek a refuge; and if she was not still there, this lady would probably know where she was.

The governor now furnished Madame L—— with a letter to this lady, and another with his own signet-ring for his wife, which would be evidence of her fidelity. It is not here necessary to follow Madame L—— on her toilsome journey. Devoted to the philanthropic work which she had undertaken, she wandered over the sandy plains of Hungary, until she succeeded in reaching the little town in which the lady resided, and delivered to her Kossuth's letter. This she read and immediately burned it, not daring even to allow it

to exist in her possession. This lady informed Madame L—— that the wife of Governor Kossuth had left her residence in the guise of a mendicant, and intended assuming the name of Maria F——n ; that she was to feign herself to be the widow of a soldier who had fallen in battle, and that, if possible, she would go to the very center of Hungary, in those vast pasture-lands, where she hoped no one would seek after her.

With this information, Madame L—— again resumed her journey. She feigned to be an aged grandmother, whose grandson was missing, and that she was in search of him. She made many narrow escapes while passing guards, soldiers, and spies ; until at length she reached the plains before mentioned. She went from house to house, as if in search of her grandson, but, in reality to find one who would answer the description given of poor Maria F——n. At length, in a cabin, she heard that name mentioned, and on inquiry who and what that person was, learned that she was the widow of a Hungarian soldier who had fallen in battle, and that she had a child who was with its grandparents. They then described her person, but added that she had suffered much from illness and grief, that she was greatly changed. "Before she came here," said the speaker, "she worked for her bread, even when ill ; but after her arrival, she became too much indisposed to labor, on account of which they sent to the "Sisters of Charity" for a physician, who came, bled, blistered her ; and when she was able to go, she had been conveyed to the institution of the Sisters, where she then was." Madame L——, feeling convinced that the poor sufferer must be none other than the object of her search, expressed a desire to visit her.

At the house of the Sisters of Charity, Madame L—— had difficulty in reaching Maria, and the latter was as much opposed to receiving her. At length Madame L—— told the Sisters to inform her that she had a message for her from her husband, who was not dead as she had supposed, and that she would soon convince her, if she would permit her to enter. Poor Maria, between fear and hope, gave her consent, and Madame L—— was allowed to see her. Madame L—— handed her the letter of Governor Kossuth. She recognized, at once, the writing ; kissed it ; pressed it to her heart ; devoured its contents, and then destroyed it immediately. Soon, a story was made up between the two females : they told the Sisters of Charity that Maria's husband "still lived," and that she would rejoin him. A little wagon was procured ; as many comforts were put in it as could be had without suspicion ; and these two interesting women set out on their escape from the enemies of their country.

Madame L—— had a relative in Hungary who had not been compromised in the war ; so this person arranged to meet the ladies at a given place, and in the character of a merchant, travel with them. After they had left the pasture-grounds, he passed as the husband of "Maria," and the elder female as his aunt. At night they stopped at a village, and were suspected, on account of the females occupying the bed, while he slept at the door. They started early in the morning, and the "husband" remained behind to learn something more of the suspicions to which their conduct had given rise. He again overtook them, as they stopped to feed their horse, and bade them to be gratly on their guard.

In the evening, while the two ladies were sitting together in a miserably cold room, the face of Maria so muffled up as to conceal her features and induce the belief that she was suffering from her teeth, both appearing much as persons in great poverty, overcome by her afflictions, Maria had a nervous attack, and talked and laughed so loud that her voice was recognized by an Austrian officer who happened to be in the house. This person sent a servant to ask them to come into his room, where there was a fire. Madame L—— inquired the name of the “good gentleman” who had the kindness to invite them to his room, and when she heard it, Maria recognized in him a deadly enemy of her husband. While they were planning a means of evading him, the officer himself came into their apartment. Immediately arising, they made an humble courtesy, in so awkward a manner as to divest him of all suspicion. Madame L—— spoke and thanked him again and again for his kindness, but added that such poor creatures as they, were not fit to go into his room. So soon as the officer retired, Maria had another attack, which would certainly have betrayed them, had he been present. Madame L—— implored her to be composed, or they would be lost.

Starting again, they were not molested until in the evening, when they were apprehended and conducted by two policemen before a magistrate. There the former spoke of them as suspicious characters; but they were not told of what they were suspected. While the examination was going on, Madame L—— slipped a bank-note into the hand of the superior of the two policemen. This bribe quite changed the affair; the

two men became their friends, excited the pity of the magistrate in their favor, and they were allowed to depart. Thus they went on from station to station, until they reached the frontiers of Hungary near the Danube. They entered the little town of Saubin, and asked permission of the head of the police to pass over the river to Belgrade. This was refused until they said they wished to go there for a certain medicine for a daughter who was ill, and that they would leave their passports as a security. He then gave his consent, and they crossed the Danube, and entered the dominions of the sultan of Turkey.

It was night when they entered Belgrade. They knocked at the door of the Sardinian consul, who had recently been stationed in that frontier town by his king, whose whole heart sympathized in the Hungarian cause, and who had formed a friendly alliance with Kossuth for the freedom of Italy and Hungary. The consul had been advised by Kossuth, that two females would probably seek his protection, but not knowing them, he inquired what they wished of him. Madame L—— replied, "Lodging and bread." He invited them in, and Madame L—— introduced him to Madame Kossuth, the lady of the late governor of Hungary!

It will readily be conceived that the consul could scarcely believe that these two miserable beings were the persons they represented themselves to be. Madame Kossuth convinced him by showing him the signet-ring of her husband. In his house Madame Kossuth fell ill, but received every possible kindness from her host. They learned that all the Hungarians and

Poles had been removed from Widdin to Shumla; and notwithstanding that it was in the midst of a severe winter, they decided upon proceeding at once to the latter place. The Sardinian consul applied to the generous and very liberal prince of Servia, in whose principality Belgrade is, for his assistance in behalf of the ladies, and in the most hospitable and fearless manner he provided them with his own carriage and four horses, and an escort; and in this way they started through the snow for Shumla. Their journey was without any apprehension of danger, for the British consul-general at Belgrade, Mr. F——, had provided the party with a passport as British subjects, under the assumed names of Mr., Mrs. and Miss Bloomfield; yet the severity of the weather was such, that Madame Kossuth in the ill state of her health, suffered very much. Often the snow was as deep as the breasts of the horses, and not unfrequently four oxen had to be attached to the carriage in their places. A journey which in summer would have required but a few days, now was made in twenty-eight.

On the twenty-eighth day, a courier was sent in advance of them to apprise Governor Kossuth of their approach. He was ill; and moreover, on account of the many plans of the Austrians to assassinate him, the sultan's authorities could not allow him to leave Shumla, and go to meet his wife. The news of her deliverance and her approach occasioned the liveliest satisfaction to all the refugees; and the Hungarians and Poles went as far as the gates of the city to meet this heroic martyr of the cause of Hungary. It was night when the carriage neared the city; as it entered

the gates, she found the streets lighted up with hundreds of lights, green, white, and red, the colors of the Hungarian flag, and was welcomed with the most friendly shouts from the whole body of the refugees.

When Madame Kossuth descended from her carriage, she found herself in the presence of her husband, who had risen from his bed of illness to receive the poor "Maria F——n" of the plains of Hungary. In place of receiving her in his arms, M. Kossuth, overcome by feelings of admiration for the sufferings which his wife had undergone, and by gratitude for her devotion to the cause of her country, threw himself at her feet and kissed them. She endeavored to speak and offer her husband consolation and tranquillity, while her own poor feeble heart was ready to burst with emotion. Her voice failed her, and amid the reiterated shouts of the Hungarians and Poles, this heroic woman was carried to her husband's apartments.

Through the influence of another faithful friend, Kossuth had the consolation of obtaining intelligence, in his Turkish prison, relative to his mother and sisters. This was the Baroness Von Beck. She was the most active and useful among the many noble women, who immortalized themselves in connection with the war of liberation in Hungary. Throughout the contest, she proved one of the ablest emissaries of the revolutionary government; now penetrating in disguise to the court of Vienna and into every palace of Schwartzenberg; and now entering the camp of Simovich and Windischgratz, measuring the means, and ascertaining the instructions of the imperial generals. Her exertions in the good cause were not confined to diplomacy. In

the ball-room and the battle-field she appeared equally at home ; equally useful as well as ornamental ; and her services were warmly acknowledged by Kossuth, the true, and Gorgey, the traitor. From her memoirs, the following unusually interesting paragraphs, relating to the family of her idol, the great leader of the revolution, are extracted. She is giving an account of an interview with Haynau, in the children's behalf :

“I felt emboldened to present a petition which Kossuth's mother had intrusted to me, praying that his children might be placed with herself. He took the paper and read it, and his natural character returned ; he was Haynau once more ; a dark frown, like a thunder-cloud, gathered upon his brow. ‘What!’ said he, in a voice hoarse with passion ; ‘What! do you want the children to receive the same revolutionary training as their father? The women of Hungary have the devil in their hearts, and are guilty of infinite mischief. No, I tell you ; the girl shall be placed in a convent, and the boys brought up in Vienna, under surveillance. Go ; that is the will of his Majesty.’ He asked me how I had become acquainted with Kossuth and his mother. I told him what I thought proper, and he left me with a volley of filthy abuse against the illustrious exile and his family. These were bad tidings to bring to the aged mother. I tried to comfort her as well as I could, and after this, visited her much more frequently than I did before.

“I devoted myself now to the accomplishment of this plan, and was encouraged by one passing gleam of sunshine, which broke through the sorrowful shades which had so long surrounded me. Kossuth's family were

set at liberty, that is to say, his mother and his three sisters. His children were still in prison, and continued in captivity till the following year. They were three in number : Velma, a beautiful little maiden of seven ; and two boys, Francis, aged eight, and Louis, six years. The father's bright spirit animated them all.

" When Haynau visited them, he addressed them in German, and they, to his great embarrassment, answered in Hungarian, of which he was totally ignorant. The eldest lad then said to him in German : ' What, so renowned a man as you not understand Hungarian ! ' Haynau scarcely knew what to say to this : it was evident that the boy looked upon the Magyar language as the natural speech of all soldiers. I visited them myself afterward at Presburg, when little Velma said to me : ' What do you think, Baroness ? Haynau has been to see us, and promised us that we should soon leave this nasty prison. But, indeed,' she added with a proud look, which reminded me of her father, ' I assure you we did not ask him to let us out ; for he is papa's worst enemy.' "

" With the exceptions of being in captivity, and separated from their parents, they were as comfortable as their friends could desire. They had a tutor and servants, and were very carefully attended to. The citizens of Presburg were never weary of showing their affection for them. Their rooms were strewed with toys, and every thing likely to please little children. The slightest wish of the little creatures was instantly gratified by the good people of Presburg, regardless of expense or trouble ; and it was well for the children that they did not continue long the objects of such

affectionate, almost idolatrous, homage. It might have effectually spoiled them. As for the mother of the children, whether she had concealed herself or fled, whether she was dead or living, nobody knew.

“I have been led into this long digression, by the mention of Kossuth’s family, which I had now the consolation of seeing as happy as they could be, whilst he was in sorrow and exile. I had the further satisfaction, during those days, of seeing my efforts on behalf of the imprisoned Daniels, crowned with the most successful results. He was set at liberty.

“He came to me immediately to thank me for what I had done, and we went together to pay a visit to the Kossuth ladies. We found them in great joy at their recovered liberty. Their house presented the appearance of a royal reception. The street was thronged with the carriages of the nobility and gentry hastening to congratulate them. It was with much difficulty we approached the door. I rejoiced exceedingly that this manifestation of public feeling took place, in spite of the suspicions which attached to every one who dared to admire the great man, who was thus honored in his relatives. But it was not mere feeling, it was a deeper principle of love and devotion.

“This principle took expression in the least questionable form, for many of the richest of the Magyar nobility offered their houses and lands to the family of Kossuth, and would truly have deemed it an honor to have supplied them with every thing in their possession, even to the impoverishing of themselves. Kossuth had left the country poor as he was born. The wealth of a nation had passed through his hands, but

they were clean from any soil. Even the relatives, who were thus caressed and honored, had no earthly means of subsistence ; but the poorest peasant in Hungary would have gladly curtailed his scanty meal to contribute to the ease and happiness of that name which was the object of his highest admiration.

“ When I told the venerable mother that I was about to leave the country, and would probably see her son in his exile, she wept upon my neck long and bitterly ; she kissed me and blessed me in the old patriarchal manner. ‘ Greet my son,’ said she, ‘ with all the love of a mother’s heart ; tell him from me to seek under the palms of the East, that repose which he must not hope for in his fatherland ; tell him that though he has not been able to save it, there is a righteous and merciful providence, which, in its own time, will bring us peace and freedom. Go, my daughter, and may God be ever with you !’

“ With this farewell, I parted from the mother of the greatest and loftiest of men. She was a small woman, with white hair and black sparkling eyes. In her youth she had been beautiful, and had preserved considerable remains of her early grace till within the last two years ; but continued anxiety on account of her son, with her recent trouble, had entirely banished her good looks, and reduced her to a mere skeleton. Her lively manner was subdued ; every word she spoke was accompanied with tears. Her voice had a touching tremor, which no one could hear unmoved.”

When it was found that the only concession the sultan would make to the demands of Russia and Austria, was the pledge to retain Kossuth and his generals as

prisoners in Turkey, until the Austrian authority was firmly re-established in Hungary, the private soldiers who had fled to Turkey were permitted to return again to their homes. Kossuth was removed to Kutayah, in Asia Minor, where he and his companions were afterward liberally supported by the sultan, although they were closely watched to prevent their escape. Kossuth's parting with his faithful soldiers at Shumla, was of the most affecting character.

The gallant warriors gathered closely around the bending form of Kossuth, as he pronounced his farewell words in the barracks of Shumla, and the hot tears coursed down the cheeks of the bearded honveds, when he bid them adieu. They hung in silence on his every word, that the echo of those well-beloved and inspiring tones might long linger in their souls. Nor did Kossuth forget to gaze long and intently with his streaming eyes upon the countenance of each brave comrade there, to fix the features on his memory. Profoundly agitated as he was, with a trembling voice he spoke these words: "Brothers! the first hard necessity of my eventful life, was that to which I was subjected when constrained to abandon my native soil and noble nation; the second meets me to-day, when I behold myself obliged to bid a long farewell to you, glorious remnants of the brave Hungarian army, and compelled by force to depart from Europe to a place where the grave yearns for me. Ye are still strong and efficient—ye are still permitted by fate to bear arms for our father-land, and to struggle for its freedom—a boon no longer granted to me, for I feel my strength failing me with every day. I yield to the unalterable decree

of destiny, and see myself doomed to the same sad lot of exile that was meted out to my predecessor Rakozy. Brothers! ye are yet young enough to see our father-land in the glory of her restoration to freedom. Should ye be so blest as to witness this, swear to me that ye will not leave my bones to moulder in a foreign soil, in the land of the barbarian. This ye will promise me, and this I am convinced ye will fulfill." Here Count Ladislaus Vay, with uncovered head, stepped up to Kossuth, and said aloud, in a strong and manly voice: "Great man! who standest there pure and spotless before the eyes of the world—thou whom the Hungarian nation honors to-day, as it honored thee when it chose thee for its regent—thou wilt, thou shalt, *thou must live!* Not thy bones, but thy living self, we will bear back in triumph to our father-land! This we swear by the Almighty God!" And all bared their heads while they uplifted their hands to take the oath, and solemnly repeated: "Eskuzunk!"—we swear it. Kossuth then kissed and embraced those who stood nearest to him. All pressed toward him to grasp his hand and bathe it with tears. The "Old Hussars" strove once more to press the hem of his mantle to their lips. The whole group was heart-rending to look upon; even the Turks—and this is saying much—were moved to tears at the sight. The train next repaired to Count Casima Bathyan, to bid him, also, a heartfelt farewell. The count left many beautiful reflections of his noble soul in the remembrance of the emigration. Kossuth mounted his horse and was borne away. That brilliant star of the firmament of Hungary, from which the nation had received its greatest light, gradually disappeared, until

it could no longer be seen in the whole circuit of the horizon.

Kossuth had scarcely reached Kutayah, when he prepared an address to the people of the United States, giving a most masterly outline of the causes which led to the Hungarian war, and pleading with resistless eloquence for the restoration of the independence of his native land. The address illustrates at once the splendor of his genius, his ardent and unsullied patriotism — and the justice of his cause. It is published entire, as no reader would wish the omission of a single paragraph of this noble and affecting appeal to the freemen of the United States :

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

“Two years ago, by God’s providence, I, who would be only an humble citizen, held in my hands the destiny of the reigning house of Austria.

“Had I been ambitious, or had I believed that this treacherous family were so basely wicked as they afterward proved themselves to be, the tottering pillars of their throne would have fallen at my command, and buried the crowned traitors beneath their ruins, or would have scattered them like dust before a tempest, homeless exiles, bearing nothing but the remembrance of their perfidy, and that royalty which they deserved to lose through their own wickedness.

“I, however, did not take advantage of these favorable circumstances, though the entire freedom of my dear native land was the only wish of my heart. My requests were of that moderate nature which, in the condition of Hungary and Europe, seemed best fitted

for my countrymen. I asked of the king, not the complete independence of my beloved country—not even any new rights or privileges—but simply these three things :

“*First* : That the inalienable rights sanctioned by a thousand years, and by the constitution of my fatherland, should be guaranteed by a national and responsible administration.

“*Second* : That every inhabitant of my country, without regarding language or religion, should be free and equal before the law—all classes having the same privileges and protection from the law.

“*Third* : That all the people of the Austrian empire that acknowledged the same person as emperor whom we Hungarians recognized as king, and the same law of succession, should have restored their ancient constitutional rights, of which they had unjustly been despoiled, modified to suit their wants and the spirit of the age.

“The first demand was not for any new grant or concession, but simply a fresh guarantee. In the arrangement made with our ancestors, when, by their free will, they elevated the house of Hapsburg to the throne, a condition was made that the king should preserve the independence and constitution of the country. This independence and this constitution were the very vitality of our national being. During three centuries, twelve kings of the house of Hapsburg had sworn, in the presence of the eternal God, before ascending the throne, that they would preserve our independence and the constitution ; and their lives are but a history of perpetual and accursed perjury. Yet

such conduct did not weaken our fidelity. No nation ever manifested more faithfulness to their rulers. And though we poor Hungarians made endless sacrifices, often at the expense of our national welfare — though these kings in times of peace drew their support from us, and in times of war or danger relied upon the unconquerable strength of our army — though we ever trusted in their words — they deceived us a thousand times, and made our condition worse.

“While other nations were able to apply all their energies to promote the general welfare and to develop their means of happiness, we had to stand on guard, like the watchmen mentioned in scripture, for three centuries, to prevent our treacherous kings from destroying entirely the foundation of our national existence — our constitution and independence.

“I, as the representative of my countrymen, asked nothing more than a constitutional ministry whose responsibility would prevent the king from violating his oath.

“The second demand was still less for any political right. We asked for nothing more than a reform in the internal administration of the state — a simple act of justice which the aristocracy owed the people. And in this how much the king would have gained! The strength of his throne would have been increased tenfold by thus winning the affections of his faithful people.

“The third demand was prompted by humanity and fraternal feeling. It was the proper and holy mission of our nation, as the oldest member of the empire, and possessing a constitutional form of government, to

raise its voice in behalf of those sister nations under the same ruler, and who were united to us by so many ties of relationship. Lovers of freedom, we would not ask liberty for ourselves alone : we would not boast of privileges that others did not enjoy, but desired to be free in fellowship with free nations around us. This motive was inspired by the conviction that two crowns — a constitutional and despotic crown — could not be worn by the same head, no more than two opposing dispositions can harmonize in the same breast, or than a man can be good and evil at the same time.

“The king and royal family granted these requests, appealing to the sanctity of their oaths as a guarantee of their fulfilment ; and I, weak in myself, but strong through the confidence of my countrymen and the noble sympathy of the Austrian people, proclaimed everywhere, midst the raging storm of revolution, that ‘the house of Austria should stand ; for, by the blessing of the Almighty, it had begun to move in the right direction, and would be just to its people.’ It stood, and stood, too, at a time when, whatever might have been the fate of Hungary, the revolutionary tempest, under my direction would have blown away this antiquated and helpless dynasty like chaff before the winds of heaven.

“I not only preserved the house of Austria, but placed in its hands the materials of a long and glorious future — the foundation of an indestructible power in the affection of thirty-two millions of people. I tendered them the fidelity and assistance of my own heroic Hungary, which alone was able to defend them against the assaults of the world. I afforded them the glorious

opportunity—more glorious than had ever been presented before—of establishing an impregnable barrier to protect freedom, civilization, and progress, against the Cossack power, which now threatens Europe. To attain this honor, this glory, one thing only was necessary—that they should remain faithful to their oaths. But when was it that Austria was not treacherous? We look in vain for as much honor as is found even among robbers, in the Hapsburg family.

“On the very day they signed the grant of those moderate demands of the Hungarian people, and solemnly swore before God and the nation to maintain them, they secretly resolved and planned the most cruel conspiracy against us. They determined to break their oaths, to desolate the land with insurrection, conflagration, and blood, till, feeble and exhausted under the burden of a thousand miseries, Hungary might be struck from the roll of living nations. They then hoped, by the power of the bayonet, and, if necessary, by the arms of Russia, to erect a united and consolidated empire, like the Russian, of sixteen various nations; they hoped to realize their long-conceived purpose of making themselves an absolute power.

“Never were so many hellish arts used against a nation before. Not suspecting a counter-revolution or an attack, we were not prepared to defend ourselves, when suddenly we were surprised by danger. The perfidious Hapsburgs, destitute of all shame, and rejoicing in the anticipation of an easy victory, hesitated not to disclose before the civilized world their horrible plans—to subjugate us by the force of arms, to excite hatred of race, to call in the aid of robbers, incendiaries, and reckless insurgents.

“At this crisis of great danger, when many of our ablest men even were ready to yield themselves to this degree of destruction, I stood among those who called the nation to arms. And, confiding in a just God, we cursed the cowards who were preparing to abandon their native land, to submit to a wicked despotism, and to purchase a miserable existence by sacrificing liberty. I called the nation to arms in self-defense. I acted not with blind presumption; and emotions of despair found no place in my breast—for he who desponds is not fit to guide a people. I estimated the valor and power of my country, and on the verge of a fearful struggle I had faith to promise victory, if Hungary would remain true to herself, and fortify her breast with the impulsive fire of a strong will.

“To sustain the stern resolution to combat such an enemy, we were supported, first, above every thing, by our unshaken confidence in God, whose ways are past finding out, but who supports the right, and blesses the cause of an honest people fighting for freedom; secondly, by a love of country and the holy desire of liberty, which makes the child a giant, and increases the strength of the valiant; and, thirdly, by your example, noble Americans!—you, the chosen nation of the God of Liberty! My countrymen—a religious, a God-venerating people—in whose hearts burned the all-powerful feeling of patriotism, were inspired by the influence of your sublime example.

“Free citizens of America! from your history, as from the star of hope in midnight gloom, we drew our confidence and resolution in the doubtful days of severe trial. Accept, in the name of my countrymen, this

declaration as a tribute of gratitude. And you, excellent people, who are worthy to be chosen by the Almighty as an example to show the world how to deserve freedom, how to win it, and how to use it—you will allow that the Hungarians, though weaker and less fortunate than you, through the decaying influences of the old European society, are not unworthy to be your imitators, and that you would be pleased to see the stars of your glorious flag emblazon the double cross of the Hungarian coat-of-arms. When despotism hurled defiance at us, and began the bloody war, your inspiring example upheaved the nation as one man, and legions, with all the means of war, appeared to rise from nothing, as the tender grass shoots up after spring showers.

“Though we were inferior in numbers to the enemy, and could not compare with their well trained forces—though our arms were shorter than theirs—yet the heroic sons of Hungary supplied the want of numbers by indomitable bravery, and lengthened their weapons by a step further in advance!

“The world knows how bravely the Hungarians fought. And it is not for me, who was identified with the war—who, obeying the wishes of the nation, stood faithfully at the helm of government—to extol the heroic deeds of my countrymen. I may mention, however, that, while every day it became more evident that the heart of Europe beat to the pulsations of the Hungarian struggle, we maintained the unequal conflict alone, cut off from the rest of the world and all external aid, till a year ago we laid the haughty power of the tyrant house of Hapsburg in the dust; and had

it not been for the intentional and traitorous disregard of my commands by one of our leaders, who afterward shamefully betrayed the country, not only would the imperial family have been driven from Vienna, but the entire Austrian nation would have been liberated ; and though by such treason this base family saved themselves from destruction, they were so far humbled in March, 1849, that, not knowing how to be just, they implored foreign aid, and threw themselves at the feet of the Czar.

“The emperor hoped that the Hungarian people could be terrified by his threatenings, and would prefer slavery to death ; but he was deceived. He sold his own liberty to Russia for aid to enslave his people. The choice of a coward is to purchase a miserable, ephemeral existence, even though at the cost of his honor and independence.

“The Austrians fought against us not only with arms and by the aid of traitors, but with studied and unceasing slander. They never ceased to impeach our motives and falsify our conduct, and vaunt the pretended justice of their own cause before the judgment-seat of public opinion. Efforts were constantly made to weaken, among the people of Hungary, and among the nations of the world, that sympathy and force which spring from a righteous cause.

“Free citizens of North America ! you have given, in spite of these slanders, the fullest sympathy for the cause of my country. We had no opportunity to explain to you our motives and conduct, and refute the libels against us ; but we said—and how truly your noble and magnanimous conduct showed it!—that

such a nation knows how to defend a just and holy cause, and will give us its sympathy : and this conviction inspired us with more confidence. Oh, that you had been a neighboring nation ! The old world would now be free, and would not have to endure again those terrible convulsions and rivers of blood which are inevitable. But the end is with God, and He will choose the means to fulfill his purposes.

“Ye great and free people ! receive the thanks of my country for your noble sympathy, which was a great moral support in our terrible conflict.

“When the house of Austria sold itself to the Autocrat, we, who were fatigued with our hard-earned victory, but not subdued or exhausted, saw with apprehension the specter of Russian invasion — an invasion which violated the laws of nations, which was openly hostile to the cause of civilization, the rights of man, of order, and even to that principle which the diplomacy of Europe calls ‘the balance of power.’ I could not believe that the governments of Europe would permit this invasion ; for I expected they would intervene to effect a treaty of peace, if not so much on our account, yet to prevent Austria becoming the vassal of Russia — to check the growing strength and influence of the latter power in the East.

“We desired an honorable peace, and were willing to submit to any reasonable terms. We many times tendered the olive-branch. We asked the constitutional governments of Europe to interpose. They heard us not. The haughty imperial family, forgetting that they were the real traitors, rejected every proposition with the defying expression that they ‘did

not treat with rebels.' Aye, more: they threw our ambassadors into prison, and one of them — the noblest of Hungary's sons — they cowardly and impiously murdered. Still we hesitated to tear asunder forever the bonds that united us. Ten months we fought, and fought victoriously, in defense; and it was only when every attempt to bring about an honorable peace failed — when Francis Joseph, who was never our king, dared, in his manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, to utter the curse 'that Hungary should exist no longer' — when there was no hope of arresting the Russian invasion by diplomacy — when we saw that we must fight to save ourselves from being struck off the earth as a nation — when the house of Austria, by its endless acts of injustice and cruelty, and by calling in the aid of a foreign power, had extinguished in the hearts of the Hungarian people every spark of affection — then, and then only, after so much patience, the nation resolved to declare its absolute independence. Then spoke the National Assembly the words which had long been uttered by every patriotic tongue: 'Francis Joseph! thou beardless young Nero! thou darest to say, Hungary shall exist no more? We, the people, answer, we do and will exist; but you and your ever treacherous house will stand no longer! You shall no more be the kings of Hungary! Be forever banished, ye perfidious traitors to the nation!'

"We were not only ready to accept any terms that were honorable, but we carefully abstained from doing any thing which would give the Czar a pretense, which he had long sought, to meddle with our affairs.

"The Hungarian nation loved freedom as the best

gift of God, but it never thought of commencing a crusade against kings in the name of liberty. In Hungary there were none of those propagandists who alarm so much the rulers of the old world. There were no secret societies plotting conspiracies. My countrymen were not influenced by the theories of communists or socialists, nor were they what the conservatives call anarchists. The nation desired justice, and knew how to be just to all, irrespective of rank, language, or religion. A people so worthy of freedom were generous enough to leave something to time, and to be satisfied with a progressive development. No violence was used ; no just right was attacked ; and even some of those institutions were left undisturbed, which, in their principle and origin, were unjust, but which, having existed for centuries, could not be abolished at once with impunity.

“The Hungarian people did not wish to oppress any — not even the aristocracy ; they were more ready to make sacrifices than to punish the descendants of nobility for the evils of misgovernment, and of those institutions which emanated from their ancestors ; nor would they let the many suffer for the sins of the few.

“There was no anarchy among us. Even in the bloodiest of the conflicts, when the human passions are most excited, there was the most perfect order and security of property and person. How did the conduct of my noble countrymen compare with that of the ‘order-making’ Austria ! Whenever the whirlwind of war ceased for a while, where the social elements were left in chaos, the instinctive moral feelings of this incorruptible people, in the absence of all government,

preserved better order and safety than legions of police. A common spirit animated the whole nation — no secret aims, no personal or local attacks, but a bold and open defense in the face of the world. Following the example of your great Washington, we adopted, as our policy, conciliation, justice and legality, and scrupulously observed the laws of nations.

“The Russians and Austrians made the soil of Wallachia the basis of military operations : and the Turkish government, which either knew not its own interests, or was unable to defend them, silently permitted this violation of treaties and the rights of nations, thus humbling itself and betraying its own weakness. Several times we drove our enemies across the Wallachian boundaries ; for it was only necessary for our victorious army to advance into the countries of the Lower Danube to rouse the inhabitants against the Russians, and to transfer the war to their own soil. But we respected the law of nations, and stopped our conquering forces on the confines of Wallachia. Her soil was sacred to us. Austria left Galicia almost unprotected, and collected all her forces to attack us. Had we at this time sent a small portion of our army to Poland, it would have caused a general insurrection, and that heroic, but unfortunate nation, would have revenged herself by throwing the Russian empire into a state of revolution. But we acted in defense only, and we deemed it a sin to precipitate other nations into a terrible and uncertain war, and we checked our sympathies. Besides, we avoided giving the emperor of Russia a pretense for a war of retaliation against us. Oh, it was foolish — for the despotic hypocrite made a

pretense ! he called our own struggle the Hungarian-Polish revolution, though the whole number of Poles in our armies did not exceed four thousand.

“ We doubted not that the European powers would negotiate a peace for us, or that they would, at least, prevent the Russian invasion. They said they pitied us, honored our efforts, and condemned the conduct of Austria ; but they could not help us, because Europe required a powerful Austrian empire, and they must support it, in spite of its evils, as a balance against Russian central and eastern Europe. What a mistake ! What diplomacy ! Is it not as clear as the sun, that the Czar, in aiding Austria, would do it in such a manner as to obtain the greatest advantages for himself ? Was it not manifest that Austria — who had always, through the help of Hungary, strength enough to oppose Russia, would, when she destroyed Hungary by Russian bayonets, no longer be an independent power, but merely the *avant-garde* of the Muscovite ? Yet Europe permitted the invasion ! It is an indelible mark of blindness and shame. It is ever thus in the imbecile old world. They treated us just as they treat Turkey. They assert always that the peace of Europe and the balance of power require the preservation of the Turkish empire — that Turkey must exist, to check the advance of the Cossack power. But, notwithstanding this, England and France destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino — a fleet which never could have injured them, but which might have contended with Russia in the Black Sea.

“ Always the same worn-out, old, and fatal system of policy ! while Russia, ever alert, seizes province

after province from Turkey. She has made herself the sovereign of Moldavia and Wallachia, and is sapping the foundations of the Ottoman empire. Already Turkish officials are more dependent on the lowest Russian agents than upon their own Grand Vizier.

“Oh that Hungary had received but a slight token of moral support from the European powers whose dreams are troubled with fear of the advance of the Cossack! Had only an English or a French agent come to us during our struggle, what might he not have done! He, too, would have seen and estimated our ability to sustain ourselves—he would have observed the humanity, the love of order, the reverence for liberty, which characterized the Hungarian nation. Had these two powers permitted a few ships to come to Ossore, laden with arms for the noble patriots who had asked in vain for weapons, the Hungarians would now have stood a more impregnable barrier against Russia than all the arts of a miserable and expensive diplomacy.

“There was a time when we, with the neighboring Poles, saved Christianity in Europe. And now I hesitate not to avow before God, that we alone—that my own Hungary—could have saved Europe from Russian dominion. As the war in Hungary advanced, its character became changed. In the end, the results it contemplated were higher and far more important—nothing less, in fact, than universal freedom, which was not thought of in the beginning. This was not a choice; it was forced upon us by the policy of the European nations, who, disregarding their own interests, suffered Russia to invade and provoke us. Yes, we

were martyrs to the cause of freedom, and this glorious but painful destiny was imposed upon us.

“Though my dear native Hungary is trodden down, and the flower of her sons executed, or wandering exiles, and I, her governor, writing from my prison in this Asiatic Turkey, I predict—and the eternal God hears my prediction—that there can be no freedom for the continent of Europe, and that the Cossacks from the shores of the Don will water their steeds in the Rhine, unless liberty be restored to Hungary. It is only with Hungarian freedom that the European nations can be free; and the smaller nationalities especially can have no future without us.

“Nor could the united Russo-Austrian forces have conquered my heroic countrymen, had they not found a traitor to aid them, in the man whom, believing in his honesty, and on account of his skill, I raised from obscurity. Enjoying my confidence, the confidence of the nation and the army, I placed him at the head of our forces, giving him the most glorious part to perform ever granted to man. What an immortality was in his reach, had he been honest! But he betrayed his country. Cursed be his name forever! I will not open the bleeding wounds by the sad remembrance of this event, and will merely mention that the surrender at Vilagos was the crowning act of a long system of treachery secretly practiced—by not using the advantages which victories put in his hands—by not fulfilling my commands, under cunning pretenses—by destroying national feeling in the army—by weakening its confidence—and by the destruction, through unnecessary exposures and dangers, of that portion of the army that

he could not corrupt in his base designs to make himself military dictator. God, in his inscrutable wisdom, knows why the traitor was permitted to be successful. In vain fell the bravest of men in this long war — in vain were the exertions of my countrymen — in vain did the aged father send, with pious heart, his only son, the prop of his declining years, and the bride her bridegroom — in vain did all private interests yield to the loftiest patriotism — in vain arose the prayers of a suffering people — in vain did the ardent wishes of every friend of freedom accompany our efforts — in vain did the Genius of Liberty hope for success. My country was martyred. Her rulers are hangmen. They have spoken the impious words that the liberty-loving nation ‘lies at the feet of the Czar.’ Instead of the thankful prayer of faith, of hope, and of love, the air of my native land is filled with the cries of despair, and I, her chosen leader, am an exile. The diplomacy of Europe has changed Turkish hospitality to me and my companions into hopeless bondage. It is a painful existence. My youthful children have begun the morning of their life in the hands of my country’s destroyer, and I — but no : desponding does not become me, for I am a man. I am not permitted, or I would say I envy the dead. Who is unfortunate? I am in Broussa, where the great Hannibal once lived in exile, homeless like myself, but rich in services performed for his country, while I claim only fidelity to mine. The ingratitude of his nation went with him in his banishment, but the sorrowful love of my countrymen follows me to my place of exile. To thee, my God, I offer thanks that thou didst deem me worthy to suffer for my dear

Hungary. Let me suffer afflictions, but accept them as propitiatory sacrifices for my native land.

“And thou, Hungarian nation, yield not to despair! Be patient: hope, and wait thy time! Though all men forget thee, the God of Justice will not. Thy sufferings are recorded, and thy tears remembered. The blood of thy martyrs — thy noble sons — which moistened thy soil, will have its fruits. The victims which daily fall for thee are, like the ever green cypress over the graves of the dead, the symbol of the resurrection. The races whom thy destroyer excited against thee by lies and cunning, will be undeceived; they will know that thou didst not fight for pre-eminence, but for the common liberty — that thou wast their brother, and bled for them also. The temporary victory of our enemies will but serve to take the film from the eyes of the deceived people. The sentiment of sympathy for our sufferings will inspire among the smaller states and races, the wish for a fraternal confederation — for that which I always urged as the only safe policy, and guarantee of freedom for them all.

“The realization of this idea will hurl the haughty despots to the abyss of the past, and Hungary, free, surrounded by free nations, will be great, glorious and independent.

“At the moment when I hardly hoped for further consolation on earth, behold the God of Mercy freed my wife, and enabled her, through a thousand dangers, to reach me in my place of exile. Like a hunted deer, she could not for five months find in her own native land a place of rest. The executioners of the beardless Nero placed a reward upon her head, but she has

escaped the tyrants. She was to me and my exiled countrymen, like the rainbow to Noah, for she brought intelligence of hope in the unshaken souls of the Hungarian people, and in the affectionate sympathy of the neighboring nations who had fought against us. They had aided the wife of the much-slandered governor of Hungary.

“Although the sympathy of the world often depends upon the result of actions, and the successful are applauded, still Hungary by her noble bearing and trials has drawn the attention of the world. The sympathy which she has excited in both worlds, and the thundering curse which the lips of millions have pronounced against her destroyers, announce, like the roaring of the wind before the storm, the coming retribution of Heaven.

“Among the nations of the world, there are two which demand our gratitude and affection. England, no less powerful than she is free and glorious, supported us by her sympathy, and by the approving voice of her noblest sons and the millions of her people. And that chosen land of freedom beyond the ocean—the all-powerful people of the United States, with their liberal government—inspired us with hope, and gave us courage by their deep interest in our cause and sufferings, and by their condemnation of our executioners.

“The President of the United States, whom the confidence of a free people had elevated to the loftiest station in the world, in his message to Congress, announced that the American government would have been the first to recognize the independence of

Hungary. And the senators and representatives in Congress marked the destroyers of my country's liberty with the stigma of ignominy, and expressed, with indignant feelings, their contempt for the conduct of Austria, and their wish to break the diplomatic intercourse with such a government. They summoned the despots before the judgment-seat of humanity; they proclaimed that the world would condemn them; they declared that Austria and Russia had been unjust, tyrannical and barbarous, and deserved to be reprobated by mankind, while Hungary was worthy of universal sympathy.

"The Hungarians, more fortunate than I, who were able to reach the shores of the New World, were received by the people and government of the United States in the most generous manner — yes, like brothers. With one hand they hurled anathemas at the despots, and with the other welcomed the humble exiles to partake of that glorious American liberty more to be valued than the glitter of crowns. Our hearts are filled with emotions to see how this great nation extends its sympathy and aid to every Hungarian who is so fortunate as to arrive in America. The sympathetic declaration of such a people, under such circumstances, with similar sentiments in England, is not a mere sigh which the wind blows away, but is prophetic of the future. What a blessed sight to see whole nations actuated by such sentiments!

"Free citizens of America! you inspired my countrymen to noble deeds; your approval imparted confidence; your sympathy consoled in adversity, gave a ray of hope for the future, and enabled us to bear the

weight of our heavy burden ; your fellow-feeling will sustain us till we realize the hope, the faith, 'that Hungary is not lost forever.' Accept, in the name of my countrymen, the acknowledgments of our warmest gratitude and our highest respect.

"I, who know Hungary so well, firmly believe she is not lost ; and the intelligent citizens of America have decided not only with impulsive kindness, but with reason and policy, to favor the unfortunate but not subjugated Hungary. The sound of that encouraging voice is not like a funeral dirge, but as the shrill trumpet that will call the world to judgment.

"Who does not see that Austria, even in her victory, has given herself a mortal wound ? Her weakness is betrayed. The world no longer believes that Europe needs the preservation of this decaying empire. It is evident that its existence is a curse to mankind ; it can never promote the welfare of society. The magic of its imagined power is gone ; it was a delusion which can deceive no longer. Among all the races of this empire — not excepting the hereditary state — there is none that does not despise the reigning family of Hapsburg. This power has no moral ground of support ; its vain dreams of a united empire — for which it has committed the most unheard-of crimes — are proved to be mere ravings, at which the world laughs. No one loves or respects it ; and when it falls, not a tear of regret will follow it to the grave. And fall it surely will. The moment Russia withdraws her support, the decayed edifice will crumble to dust. A shot fired by an English or by an American vessel from the Adriatic, would be like the trumpet of the city of Jericho. And

this impious, foolish government thinks to control fate by the hangman's cord! How long will Russia be able to assist? This Czar—who boasts that his mission is to be the scourge of all the nations striving for liberty—will not the Almighty, whose vicegerent he profanely assumes to be, blast the miserable boaster? The very character of his government is a declaration of war against the rights and interests of humanity, and the existence of other nations? Will the world suffer this long? Not long.

“The Hungarian nation, in her war, has not only gained a consciousness of her own strength, but she has forced the conviction into the minds of other nations that she deserves to exist, and to be independent; and she can show justly that her existence and independence are essential to the cause of liberty in Europe. No, no! Hungary is not lost! By her faith, bravery, and by her foresight, which teaches her to abide her time, she will be yet among the foremost in the war of universal liberty!

“You, noble Americans, we bless in the name of the God of Liberty! To you, who have summoned the murderers of my countrymen before the judgment-seat of the world—to you, who are the first judges of this court—I will bring the complaints of my nation, and before you I will plead her cause. When the house of Hapsburg, with the aid of a foreign army, invaded my country, and had destroyed, by their manifesto of the 4th of March, 1849, the foundation upon which the union with Austria rested, there remained for Hungary no alternative but the Declaration of Independence which the National Assembly unanimously voted on

the 14th of April, 1849, and which the whole nation solemnly accepted, and sealed with their blood.

“I declare to you, in the most solemn manner, that all which has taken place, or that may hereafter take place, proceeding from individuals or government, contrary to this declaration, which is in perfect accord with the fundamental law of Hungary, is illegal and unjust.

“Before you, I assert that the accusation that the Magyar race was unjust to the other races — by means of which a portion of the Servians, Wallachians, Slavonians and Germans dwelling in Hungary were excited against us — is an impious slander, circulated by the house of Hapsburg, which shrinks from no crime to weaken the united forces of our army, to conquer one race after another, and thus bring them all under the yoke of slavery.

“It is true, some of the races in Hungary had reason to complain ; but these subjects of complaint were the inevitable consequences of the pre-existing state of things, and the Austrian interference. But the Croats had no reason to complain. The race of half a million, in a separate province, had a National Assembly of its own, and enjoyed greater privileges than even the Hungarians. They contributed proportionally but half as much in taxes ; they possessed equal rights with Hungary ; while the Hungarian Protestants, on account of their religion, were not suffered to own lands in Croatia. Their grievances and ours were the same in the perpetual violation of the constitution by the imperial government. But their own peculiar grievances arose from the evils of former times, and

from the Austrian system of government, which forcibly placed the Slavonian, Servian, and Wallachian boundary districts on the German military footing.

“The moment, however, our people became free, and enjoyed their political rights, they became just, and placed all things upon a basis of freedom and perfect equality. But some of these races, blinded by the infernal slander and suggestions of Austria, took up arms against us. This people, who for centuries had endured slavery, fought against their own freedom! God forgive them! They knew not what they did.

“In America, people of different languages dwell; but who says that it is unjust for senators and representatives to use the English language in their debates, and to make it the official language of the government?

“This was what the Magyar race asked in Hungary. There was this difference only—that in America it was not necessary to establish this by law, for the original settlers had stamped their language in the country; but in Hungary a law was necessary to make the Magyar the official language. The use of the Latin tongue—a bad relic of the middle ages, which the clergy and aristocracy preserved as something precious, imitating the ancient despots, who caused the laws to be written in small letters and placed upon high towers, that the people might not understand their rights—had been retained among us. It was necessary to have a living, spoken, popular language. And what other could we have than the noble Magyar.

“How often have I, and other leaders with me, said to my countrymen that they must be strictly just, and seek their future greatness not in the predominance of

one race, but in the perfect equality of all! My counsel was adopted and made the basis of the government. The same freedom, the same privileges, without regard to language or religion, the free development of each race under the protection of the law, were accorded to all. We not only guaranteed the right to use any language in the churches and schools, but we afforded aid for the education and development of each nationality. The principle we announced was, that either the state should protect no religion, no nationality — leaving all to the free action of the people — or that it should protect all alike.

“In the general administration, the predominance of our language, and consequently of the race that spoke it, was a necessity; but in the administration of county affairs, which in some respects resembled that of the individual states in North America, the use of each language was granted. In the courts, in the trial by jury, in the right of petition, in the republication of all laws and ordinances, the various races had the right to use their own language. In one word, nothing was left undone which could tend to place all on a footing of the most perfect equality. True, we did not — as Austria has done for political purposes solely, to enslave all the people and make the brave Hungarians a subordinate nation — make a territorial division of the lands. We respected rights, and wished to progress, but were too honest to commence a system of spoliation. And who has been benefited by this policy of the Vienna bureaucracy? Not even those on whom the pretended favors have been conferred.

“When those races clamored for national rights, I

boldly demanded what was wanting, and what could be granted without injury to the country. No one answered but reckless men, who spoke of territorial division. The Servians desired to have the comitat Bacs and the three counties of the Banat, as a separate Servian state. The Wallachians wished to have Transylvania. They (the Servians,) did not consider that they owned no separate portion of the land in Hungary, and that in the Bacs and the Banat were Wallachians, Germans and Magyars, who could not be made subordinate to the less numerous Servians. So, also, in Transylvania there were Magyars, Seklers and Saxons, who would complain of such a connection with Wallachia.

“As there were various races, speaking different languages in Hungary, and divided into as many municipalities, who could blame us for laying the foundation of government in a just equality to all? Croatia alone was a separate territory; and how often have we said to her, that if she would remain in union with us, we would give her the hand of brotherhood; but if she wished to separate we would not hinder her! We could not, however, permit such a division of Hungary as would have destroyed her as a nation. It was Austria who sowed the seeds of division and dissolution.

“Citizens of America! to you I declare honestly that my aim in the federation of Hungary with smaller nations, was to secure the nationality and independence of each, and the freedom of all; and had any thing been wanting which could have been justly granted to any or all of the races in Hungary, the Magyars had only to know it, and it would have been performed

with readiness ; for freedom, and not power was their desire.

“Finally, I declare, that by the Declaration of Independence by which I was elected governor of Hungary, I protest, so long as the people do not by their free will release me from that office, that no one can legally control the affairs of government but myself. This protestation is not made in a feeling of vanity or desire to be conspicuous, but from respect to the inherent rights of my countrymen. I strove not for power. The brilliancy of a crown would not seduce me. The final aim of my life, after having liberated my dear Hungary, was to end my days as a private citizen and an humble farmer.

“My country, in the hour of danger, called upon me to assist in the struggle for freedom. I responded to its call. Others, doubtless, were more able, who could have won more fame, but I will yield to none in the purity of my motives. Perhaps it was confidence in my ardent patriotism and honesty of purpose, which induced the people to give me the power. They believed freedom would be safe in my hands. I felt my weakness, and told them I could not promise liberty unless they were united as one man, and would lay aside all personal, all sectional interests. I foretold that, if the nation was divided it would fall. As long as they followed my injunctions, and were united, they were unconquerable—they performed miracles of valor. The fall of Hungary commenced the day they began to divide. Not knowing the secret causes of this division, and not suspecting treachery, and wishing to inspire confidence, to give skill and all the elements of success to our army, and caring nothing for

my own fame, doing all for the good of my country, I gave command of the forces to another. I was assured in the most solemn engagement, by the man to whom I gave the power, that he would use it for the welfare and independence of the nation, and that he would be responsible to me and the people for the fulfillment of these conditions. He betrayed his country, and gave the army to the enemy. Had we succeeded after this terrible blow, he should have met his reward. And even now he is not freed from his accountability to the nation, no more than I, in the moral right and sense, cease to be the governor of Hungary. A short time may reverse again the fate of all. The aurora of liberty breaks upon my vision, even at Broussa!

“I have, therefore, intrusted to Ladislas Ujhazi, Obergespann of the Saros comitat, and civil governor of Komorn, the mission to be my representative, and through me, the representative of the Hungarian nation, to the people and government of the United States, hoping and believing that so generous a people will not judge the merits of our cause by a temporary defeat, but will recognize Governor Ujhazi and his companions, with their accustomed kindness.

“May God bless your country forever! May it have the glorious destiny to share with other nations the blessings of that liberty which constitutes its own happiness and fame! May your great example, noble Americans, be to other nations the source of social virtue; your power be the terror of all tyrants — the protector of the distressed; and your free country ever continue to be the asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

“Written at my place of banishment, Broussa, Asia Minor, 27th March, 1850.

“LOUIS KOSSUTH,
Governor of Hungary.”

When the foregoing spirit-stirring address reached the United States, this government was negotiating with that of Turkey, for the liberation of Kossuth, and as its publication, at that time, might have had an unfavorable tendency, it was deferred until the patriotic author was restored to freedom.

While Kossuth, in his Turkish prison, was looking forward to a new struggle on the part of the people of Europe, and especially by the Hungarians, for deliverance from despotism, the Austrian authorities were celebrating, by continual bloodshed and cruelty, the restoration of their power in Hungary.

Mr. Brace and Mr. Spencer, the one an American the other an English traveler, who were in Hungary at this unhappy period, mention many instances of almost unparalleled cruelty which they witnessed. Mr. Brace says :

“Another case was that of an elderly married woman who was compelled to run the gauntlet through a file of a hundred soldiers. Each soldier was armed with a stick and compelled to strike heavy blows as she passed, she being stripped to the waist, and allowed to step only as the drum tapped. The effect of the degradation and punishment was such as to make a maniac of her. The husband finding his feelings insupportable after such a family sacrifice to the vengeance of the tyrants, blew out his brains with a pistol ; and their only son was drafted as a common soldier in the Austrian army.

“Another case, was that of a soldier who had been

ordered to receive twenty-five lashes for shouting a hurrah for Kossuth. It is a custom of these tyrants in their whippings to make their victim *thank* the person who lays on the blows! O, the depths of meanness to which tyrants will descend to gratify their fiendish malice! This soldier refused to thank his whipper—whereupon he was ordered to receive twenty-five more lashes—he still refused, and twenty-five more were given. At length the thanks were extorted from him—but he added, at the same time, ‘my back belongs to the emperor, but my heart belongs to Kossuth!’

“A file of prisoners were led into Szegedin, with a heavy Austrian guard attending them. It happened to be a market-day, on which the town is crowded with an immense mass of peasants from the whole country around. For some cause or other, the van of the soldiers had fallen a little behind, and the first prisoner entered the market-place almost alone for the moment. As he came to the spot where Kossuth’s last and most spirit-stirring speeches were made, he suddenly stopped—took off his hat—raised his fettered hands toward Heaven, and with a voice which rung like a trumpet over the immense crowd, shouted again and again, ‘Eljen Kossuth! Eljen Kossuth!’

“In a moment, without thought of preparation or of combining—despite the Austrian cannon, which commanded the town, and the long line of soldiers, whose bayonets almost touched them—there came from the vast multitude a shout, like the roar of the sea on the shore—rung out again and again, and repeated, ‘Eljen Kossuth! Eljen Kossuth!’

“Kossuth,” continues Mr. Brace, “is the idol of the nation, and all classes are devoted to him with a constancy, and a respect and love that amounts to almost frenzy. They believe that he is destined to lead them to victory and independence—and if, he were to appear in Hungary, backed only by a hundred men, he could instantly set the entire nation in the whirl of revolution.”

Mr. Brace, also, gives the following account of a

dinner party which he attended in a small Hungarian village :

“At length one of the principal men rose for a toast. He spoke in Hungarian, with a rich, eloquent tone, and they all listened in the deepest silence. I only understood in part, but as they translated it, it was, that my arrival in the unhappy land seemed ominous of good ; that I was one from the nation who had welcomed the Hungarian exiles in their suffering, and had given sympathy to their poor country, and that he would propose the health of two of the statesmen of my country, whom every Hungarian knew, WEBSTER, (or *Vebster* as they call him,) and FILLMORE !

“I was surprised enough at hearing such a toast in a little Hungarian village, though I found afterward that very much was known indeed, even there, of our country.

“Toward the end of the supper, in a pause of the conversation, the wife of our host, a pretty-looking, nut-brown peasant woman, came up to me, and kissing my hand, with a look that almost tempted me to kiss her, said something very sweetly in Hungarian. They all laughed, and translated it for me. It was : ‘ When you go back to your country over the waters, tell Kossuth that none of us will ever forget him — and say that the Hungarian peasant women sent him a God’s blessing, and bade him come back soon, and save his dear Hungarian father-land ! ’

From the work of Mr. Spencer, the following interesting extracts, in regard to the spirit of the Hungarians, while their leader was in a foreign prison, are taken :

“The inhabitants of Western Europe, with all their cares and worldly occupations, can form no idea of the excitement of this people, who, infuriated by recent disasters, have directed their every thought and energy to the means of again wresting their country from the grasp of the German stranger. The fair sex even outvie the men in their enthusiasm, and truly we cannot

but admire the patience of the poor Austrian soldier who has to endure scoff and taunt from lips as beautiful as ever smiled on man.

“In all the large towns, we behold multitudes of these lovely Amazons, in the deepest mourning, fulfilling their oath never to cast it off until Hungary is again independent: others are wearing the national colors in various articles of their dress, to manifest at the same time their patriotism and contempt for the rule of the German, and all are decorated with bracelets and necklaces made from the coins issued during the government of Louis Kossuth. Again, not one of these patriots, whether male or female, will now utter a word of German, although we found that language almost universally spoken during our visit to Hungary in 1847, not only by the higher classes but by nearly every merchant and shopkeeper, and in all the inns throughout the country. This war against the German language and every thing German is carried on with equal violence in Pesth, the capital of the Hungarians, as in Agram, the capital of the Croatsians, and indeed in all the towns through which we passed in 1850, and the same degree of excitement and discontent exists, notwithstanding that the entire country is under martial law, and a hundred and fifty thousand Russians are lying on the frontier ready to assist the executive in case of need.”

Such a people will never wear the chains of tyranny patiently. They must, they will, yet obtain an independent national existence.

The most important incident that occurred while Kossuth remained in his Asiatic prison, was the death of General Bem. He was ill in the fall of 1850, and for many weeks gradually failed. From the first he entertained no expectation that he would be again restored to health. He had long cherished the opinion, that his death would occur in the year 1850. “You give yourself a great deal of trouble,” said he to his physician,

“but what God has ordered man cannot change.” Afterward he said : “Gentlemen, I beg for rest,” and fell into a gentle sleep. This was on the 10th of December. Many friends gathered around his bed, and he appeared to enjoy such a refreshing slumber, that they hoped to see him awaken with renewed strength. But his pulse finally began to grow weaker and weaker. His friends endeavored to arouse him, but in vain. The hero was indeed at rest. He had died without a struggle.

Kossuth was not forgotten in his distant prison. Immediately after the intelligence of his detention by the sultan reached our shores, the American minister at Constantinople was directed to urge the release of Kossuth and his fellow exiles, and the commander of the naval force of the United States, in the Mediterranean, was ordered to proceed to the Bosphorus, and receive them, should they be liberated, and bring them to the United States.

The following extracts from a speech of Mr. Webster on the subject are of extraordinary beauty and force, and of enduring interest :

“We have all had our sympathies much enlisted in the Hungarian effort for liberty. We have all wept at its failure. We thought we saw a more rational hope of establishing independence in Hungary than in any other part of Europe where the question has been in agitation within the last twelve months. But despotic power from abroad intervened to suppress it.

“And, gentlemen, what will come of it I do not know. For my part, at this moment, I feel more indignant at recent events connected with Hungary than at all those which passed in her struggle for liberty. I see that the emperor of Russia demands of Turkey that the noble Kossuth and his companions shall be

given up. And I see that this demand is made in derision of the established law of the nations. Gentlemen, there is something on earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has its power. But there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic power than lightning, whirlwind or earthquake. That is the threatened indignation of the whole civilized world. Gentlemen, the emperor of Russia holds himself to be bound by the law of nations, from the facts that he treats with nations — that he forms alliances, that he professes in fact to live in a civilized age, and to govern an enlightened nation. I say that if under these circumstances he shall perpetrate so great a violation of national law, as to seize the Hungarians and to execute them, he will stand as a criminal and malefactor in the view of the law. The whole world will be the tribunal to try him, and he must appear before it, and hold up his hand and plead, and abide its judgment.

“The emperor of Russia is the supreme lawgiver in his own country, and for aught I know, the executor of it also. But, thanks be to God, he is not the supreme lawgiver or executor of the national law, and every offense against that is an offense against the rights of the civilized world, and if he breaks that law in the case of Turkey, or in any other case, the whole world has a right to call him out and to demand punishment.

“Our rights as a nation are held under the sanction of national law — a law which becomes more important from day to day — a law which none who profess to agree to it, are at liberty to violate. Nor let him imagine, nor let any one imagine, that mere force can subdue the general sentiment of mankind. It is much more likely to extend that sentiment, and to destroy that power which he most desires to establish and secure.

“Gentlemen, the bones of poor John Wickliff were dug out of his grave seventy years after his death, and burned, for his heresy, and his ashes were thrown upon

a river in Warwickshire. Some prophet of that day said :

“The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea,
And Wickliff’s dust shall spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be.”

“Gentlemen, if the blood of Kossuth is taken by an absolute, unqualified, unjustifiable violation of the national law, what will it appease — what will it pacify? It will mingle with the earth — it will mix with the waters of the ocean. the whole civilized world will snuff it in the air, and it will return with awful retribution on the heads of those violators of national law and universal justice. I cannot say when, or in what form; but depend upon it, that if such an act take place, the thrones and principalities and powers must look out for the consequences.

“And now, gentlemen, let us do our part — let us understand the position in which we stand as the great republic of the world. Let us consider the mission and the destiny which providence seems to have designed us for, and let us so take care of our conduct, that with irreproachable hands and with hearts void of offense we may stand up whenever and wherever called upon, and with a voice not to be disregarded, say, this shall not be done — at least not without our protest.”

The efforts of the American and British ministers at Constantinople finally prevailed, and in spite of the threats of Austria and Russia, the magnanimous sultan determined that on the 1st of September, 1851, Kossuth should be liberated. The Mississippi, a naval steamer, in accordance with a resolution of the United States Senate, was dispatched to Constantinople to receive Kossuth as the Nation’s Guest, and convey him to our shores.

CHAPTER VIII.

KOSSUTH OUR NATIONAL GUEST.

THE 1st of September was a day of deep interest to Kossuth — for on that day he received the joyful announcement that he was free! Accompanied by the companions of his exile, he at once started for the sea-coast to embark on the steamer *Mississippi*. Having suffered greatly from his confinement in Turkey, his face was pale and his appearance somewhat haggard. The officers and crew were drawn up on deck to receive him; and as he stepped down the ladder and stood among them, he respectfully took off his hat, his eyes filled with tears, and in a few broken but earnest sentences, he expressed his feelings of joy at his release from prison, and at finding himself under shelter of the great Republic of the West. His manner was cordial and winning in the highest degree. Capt. Long, who had already addressed Kossuth on board the Turkish frigate, began again to speak in answer, but he seemed overcome with emotion. Tears stood in his eyes and in the eyes of all the officers and men, and his speech was limited to saying, "Sir, you are welcome! Sir, you are — are — three cheers for Governor Kossuth!" When this order had been heartily responded to, Capt. Long, could add nothing better than "Three cheers more for Gov. Kossuth!"

The Mississippi touched at the ports of Smyrna and Spezzia, and the inhabitants of both cities greeted Kossuth with great enthusiasm.

On reaching Marseilles, he proposed to go through France to England, for the purpose of leaving his children there; and then to meet the Mississippi again at Gibraltar. The French government refused him permission to pass through France. The receipt of this refusal excited a good deal of feeling among the people of Marseilles, who gathered in immense numbers to testify their regard for the illustrious exile, and their regret at the action of their government. In reply to their manifestations, Kossuth addressed them a letter of thanks. In this he merely alluded to the action of the government, and assured them that he did not hold the French people responsible for it. He then proceeded in the frigate to Gibraltar, where, after staying two or three days, and receiving the utmost civilities of the British officers there, he embarked on board the British steamer Madrid, in which he reached Southampton on the 23d of October. A large concourse of people met him on the wharf and escorted him, with great enthusiasm and hearty cheering, to the residence of the mayor. In answer to the loud cheers with which he was greeted, he came out on the balcony and briefly addressed the crowd, warmly thanking them for their welcome, and expressing the profoundest gratitude to England for the aid she had given in his deliverance from prison.

The same day, an address from the people of Southampton was presented to him in the Town Hall, to which he replied at some length. He spoke of the

feeling with which he had always studied the character and institutions of England, and said that it was her municipal institutions which had preserved to Hungary some spirit of public life and constitutional liberty, against the hostile acts of Austria. The doctrine of centralization had been fatal to France and other European nations. It was the foe of liberty — the sure agent of absolute power. He attributed much of England's freedom to her municipal institutions. For himself, he regarded these demonstrations of respect as paid to the political principles he represented, rather than to his person. He believed that England would not allow Russia to control the destinies of Europe — that her people would not assist the ambition of a few families, but the moral welfare and dignity of humanity. He hoped to see some of those powerful associations of English people, by which so much is done for political rights, directing their attention, and extending their powerful aid to Hungary. For himself, life was of no value, except as he could make use of it for the liberty of his own country and the benefit of humanity. He took the expression of respect by which he had been met, as an encouragement to go on in that way which he had taken for the aim of his life, and which he hoped the blessings of the Almighty, and the sympathy of the people of England and of generous hearts all over the world, might help to carry to a happy issue. It was much greater merit to acknowledge a principle in adversity, than to pay a tribute to its success. He thanked them for their sympathy, and assured them of the profound admiration he had always entertained for the free institutions of England.

On the 24th, Kossuth went to the country house of the mayor, and on the 25th, attended a supper at Winchester, where he made a long speech, being mainly an historical outline of the Hungarian revolution. He explained the original character of Hungary, as a constitutional monarchy, and its position between Russia, Austria, and Turkey. Its constitution was aristocratic, but its aristocracy was not rich, nor was it opposed to the constitutional rights of the people. Hungary had a parliament and county municipal institutions, and to the latter he attributed the preservation of the people's rights. All the orders of the government to any municipal magistrate, must be forwarded through county meetings, where they were discussed, and sometimes withheld. They thus formed a strong barrier against the encroachments of the government; and no country needed such a barrier more, for during more than three centuries, the house of Hapsburg had not at its head a man who was a friend to political freedom. That house however, ruled Hungary, but only according to treaties—one of the conditions of which was, that they were to rule the people of Hungary only through Hungarian institutions, and according to its own laws. Austria had succeeded in absorbing all the other provinces connected with her—but her attempts upon Hungary had proved unsuccessful. Her constant efforts to subdue the latter, had convinced her rulers that to the nobles alone her defense ought not to be intrusted, but that all the people should have an equal interest in their constitutional rights. This was the direction of public opinion in Hungary in 1825. The first effort of the

patriotic party, therefore, was to emancipate the people — to relieve the peasantry from their obligation to give 104 days out of every year to their landlords, one-ninth of their produce to their seigneur, and one-tenth to the bishop. This was only effected by slow degrees. In the long parliament, from 1832 to 1836, a measure was carried giving the peasant the right to purchase exemption from the duties, with the consent of his landlord. This, however, was vetoed by the regent. The government then set itself to work to corrupt the county constituencies, by which members of the commons were chosen. They appointed officers to be present at every meeting, and to control every act. This system the liberal party resisted, because they wished the county meetings to be free. And this struggle went on until 1847, just before the breaking out of the French Revolution. The revolution in Vienna followed that event, and this threw all power into the hands of Kossuth and his party. He at once proposed to emancipate the peasantry, and to indemnify the landlords from the land. The measure was carried at once, through both houses; and Kossuth and his friends then went on, to give to every inhabitant a right to vote, and to establish representative institutions, including a responsible ministry. The emperor gave his sanction to all these laws. Yet very soon after, a rebellion was incited by Austria among the Serbs, who resisted the new Hungarian government, and declared their independence. The palatine, representing the king, called for an army to put down the rebellion, and Jellachich, who was its leader, was proclaimed a traitor. But soon successes in Italy enabled the emperor to act

more openly, and he recognized Jellachich as his friend, and commissioned him to march with an army against Hungary. He did so, but was driven back. The emperor then appointed him governor ; but the Hungarians would not receive him. Then came an open war with Austria, in which the Hungarians were successful. Reliable information was then received, that Russia was about to join Austria in the war, and that Hungary had nowhere to look for aid. It was then proposed that, if Hungary was forced to contend against two mighty nations, the reward of success should be its independence. What followed, all know. He declared his belief that, but for the treason of Gorgey, the Hungarians could have defeated the united armies of their foes. But the house of Hapsburg, as a dynasty, exists no more. It merely vegetates at the whim of the mighty Czar, to whom it has become the obedient servant. But if England would only say that Russia should not thus set her foot on the neck of Hungary, all might yet be well. Hungary would have knowledge, patriotism, loyalty, and courage enough to dispose of its own domestic matters, as it is the sovereign right of every nation to do. This was the cause for which he asked the generous sympathy of the English people ; and he thanked them cordially for the attention they had given to his remarks.

On the same occasion Mr. Cobben spoke in favor of the intervention of England to prevent Russia from crushing Hungary, and obtaining control of Europe, and Mr. J. R. Croskey, the American consul at Southampton, expressed the opinion that the time would come, if it had not already come, when the United

States would be forced into taking more than an interest in European politics.

Kossuth again addressed the company, thanking them for the interest taken in the welfare of his unhappy country, and expressing the hope that, supported by this sympathy, the hopes expressed might be realized at no distant day. He spoke also of the different ways in which nations may promote the happiness and welfare of their people. England, he said, wants no change, because she is governed by a constitutional monarchy, under which all classes in the country enjoy the full benefits of free institutions. The consequence is, the people of England are masters of their own fates — defenders of her institutions — obedient to the laws, and vigilant in their behavior — and the country has become, and must forever continue, under such institutions, to be great, glorious, and free. Then the United States is a republic — and though governed in a different way from England, the people of the United States have no motive for desiring a change — they have got liberty, freedom, and every means for the full development of their social condition and position. Under their government, the people of the United States have, in sixty years, arrived at a position of which they may well be proud — and the English people, too, have good reason to be proud of their descendants, and the share which she has had in the planting of so great a nation on the other side of the Atlantic. It was most gratifying to see so glorious a nation thriving under a constitution but little more than sixty years old. It is not every republic in which freedom is found to exist, and he said he could cite examples in proof

of his assertion — and he deeply lamented that there is among them, one great and glorious nation where the people do not yet enjoy that liberty which their noble minds so well fit them for. It is not every monarchy that is good because under it you enjoy full liberty and freedom. Therefore he felt that it is not the living under a government called a republic, that will secure the liberties of the people, but that quite as just and honest laws may exist under a monarchy as under a republic. If he wanted an illustration, he need only examine the institutions of England and the United States, to show that under different forms of government, equal liberty can and does exist. It was to increase the liberties of the people, that they had endeavored to widen the basis on which their constitution rested, and to include the whole population, and thus give them an interest in the maintenance of social order.

Kossuth's stay in England, was a series of triumphs, eliciting a degree of popular enthusiasm wholly unexampled. Nothing less than genius of the highest order, in connection with the purest patriotism and a fervent devotion to a just cause, could have produced so profound an impression upon the public mind. His tact in dealing with the perplexities of a new position, and with the different parties by whom he was surrounded, was no less remarkable than his oratorical powers, and extorted praise, even from the most earnest opponents of his cause. His public speeches, and his replies to the numerous deputations which visited him at London, Manchester, Birmingham, Southampton, and elsewhere, were remarkably appropriate and beautiful. Never

did any orator adapt his language to his objects with more prudence and ability. He knew he had a practical and trading people to deal with, in England, and he showed them that their vital interests were identified with the liberty of Europe. The limits of this work, preclude the publication of more than a few brief extracts from his speeches in England. The following passage occurs in his second speech at Southampton :

“I am a Protestant, not only by birth but by connection. I am an humble member of a nation, the majority of which is composed of Catholics, and it is not the least glory of my nation that in all times we fought and bled for religious liberty — Catholics as devotedly as Protestants. The rights and freedom of the Protestants were always strongly opposed by the house of Hapsburg. That house had always, in history, been closely united with the spirit of Jesuitism ; but the freedom of Protestantism had been established by treaties gained by the swords of victorious Hungary. Scarcely had Russia restored the house of Hapsburg, by putting its foot on the neck of Hungary, when the first act of that house was to spill noble blood by the hands of the hangman, and its second was to destroy the rights of the Protestant religion in Hungary. The kings of Hungary in former times were always anxious not to allow any meddling of the court of Rome in the temporal affairs of the Catholic church, and a glorious king, Matthias Corvinus, a Hungarian by birth, once used these words to the pope : ‘ Your Holiness must remember that we bear two crosses on our ensign, and we will make our crosses pikes before we allow you to mix yourself up with the affairs of our church.’ Since Russia has restored the house of Hapsburg for a brief time the Jesuits have obtained full power to act. The encroaching spirit of Russia is that which every man in Europe relies on who wishes to do wrong. The identity of the interests of England with the interests of the liberty of Europe, gives me the hope that the

generous sympathy which I have the honor to meet with, will not remain an empty sound, that it will not remain without practical results for my poor country — for humanity. There is no party in England which can deny it, that the armed intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary, has increased beyond measure the preponderance of Russia on the continent, while at the same time it has violated the sacred principle of the independent right of nations to dispose of their domestic concerns. It can, therefore, hardly be denied that as long as Hungary is not restored to liberty and to independence, the weight of Russian preponderance over Europe will not subside, but will increase.”

The close of his speech was as follows :

“There is a God in Heaven, and therefore there must be justice on earth. The house of Austria, having forfeited even the possibility of the love of the nations it rules, has lost the basis for its existence. Bayonets alone are no basis, for the soldier belongs also to the people, and the soldier likewise thinks. The continued loans are no basis ; they lead rather to bankruptcy. What is it, then, upon which rests the house of Austria ? It is on nothing else than its master the Czar, around whom the house of Austria moves as an obedient satellite. But while the Hapsburg dynasty can have no future, the people of Hungary has a future yet, because it deserves to live ; it has a future, because it has vitality ; it has a future because its independence is a necessity to the freedom of Europe. It is to the future of my country that I devote the activity which I have regained by my liberty from the bondage of Asia : and this my liberation is, in the first place, due to the noble feelings of the sultan, who in spite of the arrogant threats of Russia and Austria, has protected my life, and the life of my companions — who later yielded, but with sorrow, to the pressure of the circumstances which had forced him to surround his hospitality by detention — and who, at last raising himself by the magnanimity of his inspirations and his respect for the rights of humanity, above all threats,

restored me to liberty, in the most dignified manner. But, expressing my grateful acknowledgment to Turkey, I may also return my deeply felt thanks for the magnanimous interferences of the governments of Great Britain and the United States of America, in such a high and generous manner, supported by the public spirit of the people in both countries, and even sanctioned by the magnanimous resolution of Congress, in obtaining the liberation of myself and of my associates. It is, therefore, with the warmest feelings of a grateful heart, I propose the toast, 'England, the United States, and Turkey.'"

The following passages occur in Kossuth's speech at Birmingham :

"Sorrow takes deeper root in human breasts than joy ; one must be an exile, and the home of the poor exile must be suffering as mine is, that the heart of man may feel the boundless intensity of the love of home. However strange it may appear to you, the roots of my life are not within myself : my individuality is absorbed in this thought, 'Freedom and fatherland.' What is the key of that boundless faith and trust my people bear to me, their plain unpretending brother—a faith and confidence seldom to be met in like manner by any one? What is the key of it—that this faith, this confidence, stands still fast, neither troubled by the deluge of calumnies, nor broken by adversities? It is that my people took, and take me still, for the incarnated personification of their wishes, their sentiments, their affections, and their hopes. Is it not, then, quite natural that the woes of my people also should be embodied in myself? I have the concentrated woes of millions of Magyars in my breast. While, during our holy struggle, we were secluded from the world, our enemies, wanting to cover their crimes by lies, told you the tale, that we are in Hungary but an insignificant party, and this party fanaticized by myself. Well, I feel proud of my country's strength. They stirred up by delusions, to the fury of civil war, our Croat, Wallach, Serb and Slovack brethren against

us. It did not suffice. The house of Austria poured all its forces upon us ; still it would not do. We beat them down. The proud dynasty was forced to stoop at the foot of the Czar. He thrust his legions upon us, and still we could have been a match for them. One thing there was that we — the plain children of straight uprightness, could not match — that is, the intrigue of Russian diplomacy, which knew how to introduce treason into our ranks. This, combined with Russian arms, caused us to fail. But still we were often styled only a party fanaticized by me. Well, 'I thank them for the word.' You may judge by this what will then be, when not a mere party, but together all the Magyars, also all the Croats, Wallachs, Serbs and Slovacks, melted into one body, will range under the standard of freedom and right. And be sure they will. Humanity, with its childish faith, can be deluded for a moment, but the bandage soon falls from its eyes, and it will be cheated no more. And yet, though we were oppressed, and deceived, the scorned party afterward turned out to be a nation, and a valiant one. But still they said, it was I who inspired it. Perhaps there might be some glory in inspiring such a nation, and to such a degree. But I cannot accept the praise. No ; it is not I who inspired the Hungarian people — it was the Hungarian people who inspired me ! Whatever I thought, and still think — whatever I felt, and still feel — is but a feeble pulsation of that heart which in the breast of my people beats. The glory of battles is ascribed to the leaders, in history — theirs are the laurels of immortality. And yet on meeting the danger, they knew that, alive or dead, their name will upon the lips of the people forever live. How different, yes, how different, how much purer, is the light spread on the image of thousands of people's sons, who, knowing that where they fall, they will lie unknown, their names unhonored and unsung, but who, nevertheless, animated by the love of freedom and father-land, went on calmly, singing national anthems, against the batteries, whose cross-fire vomited death and destruction on them,

and took them without firing a shot — they who fell, falling with the shout, 'Hurrah for Hungary!' And so they died by thousands, the unnamed demigods. Such is the people of Hungary. Still, they say it is I who have inspired them! No; a thousand times, no! It is they who have inspired me. The moment of death, gentlemen, is a dreary one. Even the features of Cato partook of the impression of this dreariness. A shadow passed over the brow of Socrates on drinking the hemlock cup. With us, those who beheld the nameless victims of the love of country, lying on the death-field beneath Buda's walls, met but the impression of a smile on the frozen lips of the dead, and the dying answered those who would console, but by the words, 'Never mind; Buda is ours! Hurrah for the father-land!' So they spoke and died. He who witnessed such scenes, not as exceptions, but as a constant rule, with thousands of the people's nameless sons; he who saw the adolescent weep when told he was yet too young to die for his land; he who saw the sacrifices of spontaneity; he who heard what a fury spread over the people on hearing of the catastrophe; he who marked his behavior toward the victors, after all was lost; he who knows what sort of curse is mixed in the prayers of the Magyar, and knows what sort of sentiment is burning alike in the breast of the old and of the child, of the strong man and of the tender wife, and ever will be burning on, till the hour of national resurrection strikes; he who is aware of all this, will surely bow before this people with respect, and will acknowledge with me, that such a people wants not to be inspired, but that it is an everlasting source of inspiration itself! This is the people of Hungary. And for me, my only glory is, that this people found in myself the personification of their own sentiments. This is all he can tell of himself, whom you are honoring with so many tokens of your sympathy. Let me, therefore, hold the consoling faith that in honoring me by your sympathy, you were willing to give your sympathy to the people of the Magyars. But let me ask, what can be the meaning

of this sympathy of the English people? Is it but a funeral feast, offered to the memory of the noble dead? God forbid! The people of England are the people of life — their sympathy belongs to the life. The hurrah which greeted me on your shores — the warm, sincere cheering of the hundred thousands in your streets, so generous and still so modest, so loud and so sincere, so free and still so orderly — I take for the trumpet-sound of the charion of freedom, justice, and popular rights. To be sure, deep is the sorrow which weighs on me; it is, as I said, the concentrated woe of millions; but do not, I pray, think this sorrow to be that of despondency, which knows nothing better than hopelessly to complain. No, this sorrow is such a one as enlarges the horizon of hope and of perseverance, getting, like the Antæus of the fable, new strength from every fall. Let me, therefore, assure you, gentlemen, that the people of Hungary has a future yet; let me confidently state that the people of England has not spent its sympathy to a corpse. But, well may you ask, 'What are the motives of this hope?' The first basis of my hope is the Almighty himself. The God of Justice, who cannot grant a lasting victory to wickedness. History has, to be sure, recorded the downfall of mighty empires, of nations, compared to whom we Magyars can scarcely claim a name. But the fall of those nations was precisely the revelation of the eternal justice of God. They fell by their own crimes. Nations die but by suicide. This is not our case. Hungary is not the sacrifice of its own crimes. An ambitious woman had, in the palace of Vienna, the sacrilegious dream to raise the seat of power of a child upon the ruins of Liberty. Well she knew that God would not be with her, but she well knew that the Czar would be with her; and what do they care for God, if only the Czar be with them? The Czar, who dared to boast that he has the calling to put his foot upon mankind's neck. Arrogant mortal! thou dust before God! No, gentlemen, by such a reason, a nation may suffer, but not die. The God of humanity cannot admit this. And do you not

already his judgment mark? They said, down with Hungary, that Hapsburgs may rule as they please. And look! they had already, in the first act of their sacrilegious plot, to mendicate the help of him whose aid gave them a dishonorable bondage instead of the coveted might. They longed to be the sun, and have nations for moons to turn around them in obedience; and they themselves became the obedient moon of a frail mortal. Let them but rely on their Czar: his hour also will come. The millions of Russia cannot be doomed to be nothing but blind instruments of a single mortal's despotic whims. Humanity has a nobler destiny than to be the footstool to the ambition of some families. The destiny of mankind is freedom, sir, and the sun of freedom will rise over Russia also; and in the chorus in which energy's liberated nations will raise the song of thanksgiving to God, not even the Russians will fail. So let the house of Austria trust to his Czar. The people of Hungary and myself, we trust to God."

On the 20th of November, Kossuth embarked on the steamer Humboldt for the United States, and on Thursday, the 4th of December, arrived at Staten Island. At the request of the mayor of New York, he remained for a day on the island, at the residence of Dr. Doane, until the authorities of the city could prepare for his public reception. He was immediately waited upon by numerous deputations, presenting addresses of congratulation and respect, to all of which he made pertinent replies. The citizens of Staten Island gave him a public reception on Friday. He was addressed, on behalf of the citizens, by Mr. R. A. Locke, in a speech of great elegance and force. A portion of this speech, which is but an expression of the feelings of the whole American people, is subjoined:

"Governor Kossuth, of Hungary, we welcome you to

the western world ! On this, the first of its shores which receives your footsteps, accept the cordial gratulations of a rural population, proud of the enviable distinction of being the first assemblage of the American people to assure you of their reverence, admiration, and regard. Upon the island county of Richmond, has also devolved the high honor of greeting you with a fervent expression of these sentiments, in behalf and in anticipation of the country and continent at large ; and we proffered them for your acceptance, under the profound conviction that the eastern hemisphere now contains no man to whom the western is so unanimously impatient to express them, and deems them so justly due. It is not because you are an exile, driven by despotism from your native land, the home of your fathers and your children ; for our free domain is the open and appropriate refuge of many such, equally, on this account, entitled to our sympathy and protecting care. Nor is it because you are an exile more illustrious in station, in personal achievements, or in individual patriotism, than others whom the vicissitudes of nations have presented to our extended hand. But, it is because, in immeasurable eminence and splendor above all other men of the age, you are the impersonation of the sublime and holy spirit of the age—the spirit of Liberty—who has here established an empire over the widest area she has won, and whence she is destined to go forth to achieve the freedom of the world, with you, we trust, as the first leader of her banners. It is because, in endowment, in resolution, in action, and in aim, you are the apostle of Freedom for the old world, entering these ocean portals of the new, crowned with the bright principles and hopes of your mission as with a diadem from the sky. It is for these congenial reasons, that we deem it our dignified duty — as it is our spontaneous delight — to honor you for yourself and for your cause ; to avow our concurrence in your principles, and proudly to sanction your hopes. Think not, sir, that you are but newly known to us, either in character or in function, although in both you have recently

stood forth to the world in augmented and wondrous magnitude. We have beheld you for years, as a shadowy form upon the dim horizon of the far east, standing by the solitary altar of your country's liberty, and feeding its fires ere the morning came! Earlier and more faithfully, however fitfully, was that altar maintained in Hungary than in any other nation of Europe, while we behold in you its latest and most devoted minister. Down through the dark ages of ecclesiastical and feudal thralldom, its embers remained alive, when in every other land — scarcely excepting England, with the relics of her Saxon institutions — they had been crushed out and extinguished. In the successive ages of her history, Hungary has exhibited the acts of a heroic drama, in which the perpetual perfidy of despotism, and the tenacious vitality of liberty, have been developed in the struggles of every scene, until in this, the last and greatest of our own times — at once the brightest in her glory and the darkest in her fate — she had profoundly moved the heart of all mankind, filling it with impulsive sympathy, and exalting it with generous indignation. In the breast of no people have these feelings been aroused more strongly than in ours; for our sympathy was natural and instinctive for a brave and enlightened nation, contending, first, like our own early sires, for mere constitutional rights, and then for absolute independence and self-government, as the glorious alternative. We, as a new and colonial people, exempt from a hereditary aristocracy, and receiving only the lengthened shadow of a distant throne, achieved our gigantic purpose in a seven years' war. Hungary — infested with nobles, prelates, and special privileges, like all the old nations, and begirt by surrounding thrones, had inherited the struggle for centuries, again to renew it for an object, now, not less than ours, pure, stupendous and sublime. And, sir, be calmly confident of this, that as America called not in vain upon other nations for aid, in her unequal contest, so shall not Hungary call in vain upon America for aid in hers, when the hour of opportunity arrives. On

this spot, twenty-seven years since, we gratefully honored Lafayette of France, the devoted compatriot of Washington, on his visit to our land, to behold the completion of the grand structure of freedom which the fleets and armies of his gallant nation had contributed to establish. On this spot, we pledge to you the full payment of our debt to European generosity and valor, when the cause of republican liberty shall demand it; and if our national government fail promptly to meet it, and our national diplomacy suffice not to redeem it, then will our generous youth and bright swords redress the balance. Remember, sir, what has already been said to arrogant Austria from our national senate and department of state, and interpret this first voice of formal warning, by the one, louder and more authoritative, which you will hear in the commercial and numerical metropolis of our country you are now approaching, and which will greet you in a grand monotone, throughout our spacious land, until the hemisphere itself shall ring with that single sound. No impulse of the human heart is so contagious as that of valor in the cause of liberty. No principles are so imperishable and prolific as those of freedom, in genial soils. Your country has stimulated every fiber of our common humanity with the one, and you are the great husbandman of the earth, sowing the other, broadcast, over her fertile nations. When a brief day of freedom last dawned in Hungary, and you, as her chosen governor, called upon the national assembly of her representatives for a supply of men and means for her defense, the world, as your audience, exulted at the prompt response of two hundred thousand men, and eighty millions of florins, awarded with the patriotic shout: 'We grant it! we grant it! for liberty or death!' The two heroic campaigns which ensued, will ever stand among the greatest prodigies and marvels of history. Well have you designated the heroes of Temesvar, and other glorious fields of superhuman valor as 'the unnamed demigods' of the age; for the Titans of mythology warred not more indomitably against the united

power of the imperious and relentless gods, than did the nameless soldiers of Hungary against the overwhelming forces of Austria and Russia, in cowardly combination. And they warred and won, until by subornation of treachery, that dastardly resource of baffled power, the tyrants effected what, as it seemed, no numerical force could do. But, like the Hebrew Hercules, invincible to all save perfidy, Hungary fell not alone. In falling she shook the pillars of a system of European despotism and dark diplomacy, which can never be re-established."

Kossuth made a brief reply. He referred to the general objects of his visit to the United States, which were, to advance the interests of his own country. On Saturday, he entered the city of New York, amidst vast numbers of its people who had gathered to meet him, and whose enthusiasm exceeded all bounds. He made a brief address at Castle Garden; joined a great procession around the city, and reviewed the troops at the City Hall. His address was merely introductory to the purposes of his visit here. He expressed the warmest gratitude for the interference of the United States to release him from captivity, and for the reception with which he had been honored. He spoke of the condition of his country with the deepest feeling, and expressed a hope that the United States would extend their aid to prevent foreign powers from crushing Hungary. He said he desired some little time, not only to recruit his health, which had suffered somewhat from his voyage, but also to examine the ground upon which he must stand in his labors for his country. He spoke of himself, and his emotions, in the following touching language:

"Let me, before I go to work, have some hours of

rest upon this soil of freedom, your happy home. Free dom and home! what heavenly music in those two words! Alas, I have no home, and the freedom of my people is down-trodden. Young giant of free America! do not tell me that thy shores are an asylum to the oppressed, and a home to the homeless exile. An asylum it is, but all the blessings of your glorious country, can they drown the longing of the heart, and the fond desires for our native land? My beloved native land! thy very sufferings make thee but dearer to my heart! thy bleeding image dwells with me when I wake, as it rests with me in the short moments of my restless sleep! It has accompanied me over the waves. It will accompany me when I go back to fight over again the battle of thy freedom once more. I have no idea but thee: I have no feeling but thee. Even here, with this prodigious view of greatness, freedom and happiness, which spreads before my astonished eyes, my thoughts are wandering toward home; and when I look over those thousands of thousands before me, the happy inheritance of yonder freedom for which your fathers fought and bled — and when I turn to you, citizens, to bow before the majesty of the United States, and to thank the people of New York for their generous share in my liberation, and for the unparalleled honor of this reception, — I see, out of the midst of this great assemblage, rise the bleeding image of Hungary, looking to you with anxiety whether there be in the luster of your eyes a ray of hope for her; whether there be in the thunder of your hurrahs a trumpet call of resurrection. If there were no such ray of hope in your eyes, and no such trumpet call in your cheers, then woe to Europe's oppressed nations. They will stand alone in the hour of need. Less fortunate than you were, they will meet no brother's hand to help them in the approaching giant struggle against the leagued despots of the world; and woe also to me. I will feel no joy even here, and the day of my stay here will turn out to be lost for my father-land — lost at the very time when every moment is teeming with the decision of Europe's destiny."

The few days succeeding were passed in comparative retirement, though on every day, numerous deputations from various parts of the country waited upon him to tender their congratulations, and to invite him to their respective sections.

On the evening of Thursday, the 12th, the corporation of New York city entertained Kossuth at a splendid banquet, at which he made a very long and very able speech, explaining the purposes which had brought him to the United States, and the action which he desired should be taken by the people, and vindicating their propriety and necessity.

Commercial interest, he said, required the United States to prevent the overgrowth of absolutism in Europe, because that growth is, and must be, hostile to intercourse with a republican country. If these absolutist powers, moreover, should become victorious in Europe, and then united, they would aim a blow at republicanism on this continent. Kossuth proceeded to quote from Mr. Fillmore's late message, the declaration, that the deep interest we feel in every struggle for liberty, "forbids that we should be indifferent to a case, in which the strong arm of a foreign power is invoked to stifle public sentiment; and repress the spirit of freedom in any country." He quoted also similar declarations from Washington and from Mr. Webster, and claimed that he had fully established, on American authority, that all nations are bound to interfere to prevent any one nation from interfering in the concerns of another. He then considered the objections that may be urged against carrying this principle into effect. The objection that it is not our business, was met by

denying that any nation should live only for itself: every nation is bound to obey the divine injunction—"Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." The objection that such a step might lead to war, was answered by saying, that it would prevent war—that the union of the United States and of England, in a protest against the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary, would be sufficient to stop it, and to prevent war. He wished, therefore, that the people of this country should adopt resolutions, requesting their government to take such a step. He sketched briefly the history of the Hungarian struggle, and concluded by proposing three distinct measures which he desired at the hands of the American people:—1st. A declaration, conjointly with England, against the interference of Russia in the affairs of Hungary; 2d. A declaration that the United States will maintain commerce with European nations, whether they are in a state of revolution or not; and 3d. That the people would recognize Hungary as an independent nation. These three steps, taken by the people and government of the United States in concert with those of England, he was confident, would prevent Russian intervention, and enable Hungary to assert and maintain her position as one among the independent nations of the earth. He also appealed to the people for aid to Hungary, in gifts and loans of money. The speech was eminently argumentative and calm in its tone. It was heard with universal pleasure and admiration.

On the evening of Monday, Dec. 15th, the members of the press in the city of New York, gave Kossuth a

splendid banquet at the Astor House. The large hall was very elegantly decorated, and a company of nearly three hundred sat down at table. William Cullen Bryant presided. Kossuth commenced by speaking of the power of the Press, and its freedom in the United States — the only country, in his opinion, where that freedom was truly practical and useful to the great mass of the people. The devotion of this country to the cause of education, he regarded as its greatest glory. And he desired to appeal to the people, thus fitted by their education and their press to form an intelligent and correct judgment, on behalf of his country's cause. He was proud to remember that he commenced his public career as a journalist; and he drew a graphic picture of the circumstances under which journalists in despotic countries, with fettered hands and a censor at their side, are compelled to perform their task. He then proceeded to correct some very remarkable misrepresentations of the Hungarian cause to which currency had been given.

It was untrue that the Hungarians had struggled for the dominion of their own race; they struggled for civil, political, social, and religious freedom, common to all, against Austrian despotism; the ruling principle of the nation was, to have republican institutions, founded on universal suffrage — so that the majority of the people shall rule in every respect and in all departments. This was the principle for which they would live, and for which they were willing to die. He entreated the aid of the United States in that great struggle. The speech was heard with interest, and was followed by remarks from a large number of gentlemen connected with the city press.

After the banquet given to him December 16th, by the New York press, Kossuth remained in New York until Tuesday, the 23d. The bar of New York gave him a public reception and banquet on the 18th, at which he made a speech devoted mainly to the position, that the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary was a gross violation of the law of nations, deserving the name of piracy ; and that the United States was bound alike in interest and in duty, to protest against it. He conceded fully that if such a protest should be made, and treated with contempt, the United States would be bound in honor to enforce it by war. At the same time he declared his conviction that there was not the slightest danger of war, and entered into some historical details to show that Russia would never interfere in Hungarian affairs, until she was assured that England and the United States would not resist her. At the dinner, speeches were made by several prominent members of the bar.

On the 20th, in the afternoon, Kossuth addressed a large company of ladies assembled to meet him, in a speech of exquisite beauty and touching eloquence, as follows :

SPEECH BEFORE THE LADIES OF NEW YORK.

"I would I were able to answer that call. I would I were able conveniently, to fill the place which your kindness has assigned to me ; but really I am in despair. I do not know how many times I have spoken within the last fourteen days in New York. Permit me to make some few remarks which are suggested to my mind by what has been stated. You were pleased to say that Austria was blind to let me escape. Be assured that it was not the merit of Austria. Austria would

have been very glad to bury me, if not in the cold grave of death, at least in the equally cold grave of moral inactivity. But the emperor of Turkey took courage at the interference of America ; and notwithstanding all the reclamations of Austria, I am free — restored to life, because restored to duty and activity. If Austria would not have murdered down the very existence of my nation, it is true I should have vanished out of the memory of man. It is a curious fate which I have. Perhaps there never was a man in the world, who was so fond of tranquillity as I am ; and perhaps no man so fond of doing as much good as possible without being known, or even noticed as being in the world. Thus, longing for tranquillity, it was my destiny never to have a single moment in my life to see it fulfilled. But my guiding star was, and will be, ‘duty,’ and the pleasure and delight of the heart must wait, even forever, if necessary, when duty calls. Ladies, worn out as I am, still I am glad, very glad indeed, that it is the ladies of New York who have condescended to listen to my farewell. This my farewell, cannot, will not be eloquent. When in the midst of a busy day, the watchful care of a guardian angel throws some flowers of joy in the thorny way of man, he gathers them up with thanks, a cheerful thrill quivers through his heart, like the melody of an Æolian harp ; but the earnest duties of life soon claim his attention and his cares. The melodious thrill dies away, and on he goes, joyless, cheerless and cold, every fiber of his heart bent to the earnest duties of the day. But when the hard work of the day is done, and the stress of mind for a moment subsides, then the heart again claims its right, and the tender fingers of our memory gather up again the violets of joy which the guardian angel threw in our way, and we look at them with so much joy, we cherish them as the favorite gifts of life — we are so glad — as glad as the child on christmas eve. These are the happiest moments of man’s life. But when we are not noisy, not eloquent, we are silent, almost mute, like nature on a midsummer’s night,

reposing from the burning heat of the day. Ladies, that is my condition now. It is a hard day's work which I have to do here. I am delivering my farewell address; and every kindness which I have received (and I have received so many,) every flower of consolation which the ladies of New York have thrown on my thorny way, rushes with double force to my memory. I feel so happy in this memory — there is a solemn tranquillity about my mind; but in such a moment I would rather be silent than to speak—I scarcely can speak. You know, ladies, that it is not the deepest feelings which are the loudest. And besides, I have to say farewell to New York. This is a sorrowful word. What immense hopes are linked in my memory in this word New York — hopes of resurrection for my down-trodden father-land — hopes of liberation for oppressed nations on the European continent! Will the expectations which the mighty outburst of New York's young and generous heart foreshadowed, be realized? Will these hopes be fulfilled, or will the ray of consolation which New York cast on the dark night of my father-land — will it pass away like an electric flash? Oh, could I cast one single glance into the book of futurity! No, God forgive me this impious wish. It is He who hid the future from man, and what He does is well done. It were not good for man to know his destiny. The energy of his sense of duty would falter or subside, if we were assured of the failure or success of our aims. It is because we do not know the future that we retain our energy of duty. So will I go on my work, with the full energy of my humble abilities, without despair, but with hope. It is eastern blood which runs in my veins; and I come from the east. I have, accordingly, somewhat of eastern fatalism in my disposition, but it is the fatalism of a christian, who trusts with unwavering faith in the boundless goodness of a divine Providence.

“But among all these different feelings and thoughts that come upon me in the hour of my farewell, one thing is almost indispensable to me, and that is, the assurance that the sympathy I have met with here will

not pass away like the cheers which a warbling girl receives on the stage—that it will be preserved as a principle, and that when the emotion subsides the calmness of reflection will but strengthen it, because it is a principle. This consolation I wanted, and this consolation I have, because, ladies, I place it in your hands. I bestow on your motherly and sisterly cares, the hopes of Europe's oppressed nations—the hopes of civil, political, social, and religious liberty. Oh, let me entreat you, with the brief and stammering words of a warm heart, overwhelmed with emotions and with sorrowful cares—let me entreat you, ladies, to be watchful of the sympathy of your people, like the mother over the cradle of her beloved child. It is well worthy of your watchful care, because it is the cradle of regenerated humanity. Especially in regard to my poor fatherland, I have particular claims on the fairer and better half of humanity, which you are. The first of these claims is, that there is not, perhaps, on the face of the earth a nation which in its institutions has shown more chivalric regard for ladies than the Hungarians. It is a praiseworthy trait of the oriental character. You know that it was the Moorish race, in Spain, who were the founders of the chivalric era in Europe, so full of personal virtue, so full of noble deeds, so devoted to the service of ladies, and heroism, and to the protection of the oppressed. You are told that the ladies of the east are almost degraded to less than a human condition, being secluded from all social life, and pent up within the harem's walls. And so it is. But you must not judge the east by the measure of European civilization. They have their own civilization, quite different from ours in views, inclinations, affections, and thoughts. Eastern mankind is traditional—the very soil retains the stamp of traditional antiquity. When you walk upon that old soil, with the Old Testament in your hand, and read the prophets and patriarchs on the very spot where they lived and walked, you are astonished to find that nature is as it was five thousand years ago, and that the cedars still grow on her boundary,

under the shadow of which the patriarchs were protected. You see the well just as Jacob saw it when Rachel gave drink to him and his camels. Every thing — the aspect of nature, the habits, the customs, the social life of the people — is measured, not by centuries, but by thousands of years. The women of the east live as they lived in the time of the patriarchs, and they feel happy. Let them remain so. Who can wish them more on earth than happiness? Nothing is more ridiculous than to pity those who feel happy. But such is the fact that there is almost a religious regard paid to women in the east. No man dares to injure or offend a woman there. He who would do so would be despised by all like a dog. That respect goes so far, that the lord does not dare raise the carpet of his harem's door, still less enter it, where a pair of slippers before the threshold tells him that a lady is in the room. Respect and reverence for woman is the characteristic of the orient. The Magyars are of eastern stock, cast in Europe. We found all the blessings of civilization in your ladies ; but we conserved for them the regard and reverence of our oriental character. Nay, more than that, we carried these views into our institutions and into our laws. With us, the widow remains the head of the family, as the father was. As long as she lives, she is the mistress of the property of her deceased husband. The chivalrous spirit of the nation supposes she will provide, with motherly care, for the wants of her children, and she remains in possession so long as she bears her deceased husband's name. The old constitution of Hungary, which we reformed upon a democratic basis — it having been aristocratic — under that instrument, the widow had a right to send her representative to the parliament, and in the county elections of public functionaries, widows had a right to vote alike with the men. Perhaps this chivalric character of my nation, so full of regard toward the fair sex, may somewhat commend my mission to the ladies of America. Our second particular claim is, that the source of all the misfortune which

now weighs so heavily upon my bleeding father-land, is in two ladies — Catharine of Russia, and Sophia of Hapsburg, the ambitious mother of the young Nero, Francis Joseph. You know that one hundred and fifty years ago, Charles the Twelfth, of Sweden, the bravest of the brave, foreseeing the growth of Russia, and fearing that it would oppress and overwhelm civilization, ventured with a handful of men to overthrow the rising power of Russia. After immortal deeds, and almost fabulous victories, one loss made him a refugee upon Turkish soil, like myself. But, happier than myself, he succeeded in persuading Turkey of the necessity of checking Russia in her overweening ambition, and in her growth. On went Mehemet Balzordsi with his Turks, and met Peter the Czar, and pent him up in a corner, where there was no possibility of escape. There Mehemet held him with iron grasp till hunger came to his aid. But nature claimed her rights, and in a council of war, it was decided to surrender to Mehemet. Then Catharine, who was present in the camp, appeared in person before the Grand Vizier to sue for mercy. She was fair, and she was rich with jewels of nameless value. She went to the Grand Vizier's tent. She came back without any jewels, but she brought mercy, and Russia was saved. From that celebrated day dates the downfall of Turkey, and that of Russia's growth. Out of this source flowed the stream of Russian preponderance over the European continent; and down-trodden liberty, and the nameless sufferings of Poland and of my poor native land, are the dreadful fruits of Catharine's success on that day, cursed in the records of humanity.

“The second lady who will be cursed through all posterity, in her memory, is Sophia, the mother of the present usurper of Hungary — she who had the ambitious dream to raise the limited power of a child upon the ruins of liberty, and on the neck of down-trodden nations. It was her ambition — the evil genius of the house of Hapsburg in the present day — which brought desolation upon us. I need only mention one

fact to characterize what kind of a heart was in that cursed woman. On the anniversary of the day of Arad, where our martyrs bled, she came to the court with a bracelet of rubies gathered together in so many roses as were numbered by the heads of the brave Hungarians who fell there, and declared it as a gift which she joyfully presented to the company, as a memento which she wears on her very arm, to cherish its eternal memory, that she might not forget the pleasure she derived from the killing of those men who died at Arad. This very fact can give you a true knowledge of the character of that woman. And this is the claim to the ladies' sympathy for oppressed humanity and my poor fatherland. I wish the free women of America will help my down-fallen land to get out of that iron grasp, or to get out of those bloody fangs, and become independent and free. Our third particular claim is the behavior of our ladies during the last war. It is no idle praise—it is a fact what I say—that, in my hard task to lead on the struggle and to govern Hungary, I had no more powerful auxiliaries, and no more faithful executors of the will of the nation, than the women of Hungary. You know that in ancient Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, which was won by Hannibal, the victor was afraid to come down to the very walls of Rome. The senate called on the people spontaneously to sacrifice all their wealth on the altar of their fatherland, and the ladies were the first to do it. Every jewel, every ornament, was brought forth, so much so that the tribune judged it necessary to pass a law prohibiting the ladies of Rome to wear jewelry or any silk dresses, in order that it might not appear that the ladies of Rome had by their own choice done so. Now, we wanted in Hungary no such law. The women of Hungary brought all that they had. You would have been astonished to see how, in the most wealthy houses of Hungary, if you were invited to dinner, you would be forced to eat soup with iron spoons; and when the wounded and sick—and many of them we had, because we fought hard—when the wounded and sick

were not so well provided as it would have been our duty and our pleasure to do, I ordered the ministry and the respective public functionaries to take care of them. But the poor wounded went on suffering, and the ministry went on slowly to provide for them. When I saw this, one single word was spoken to the ladies of Hungary, and in a few hours there was provision made for hundreds of thousands of sick. And I never met a single mother who would have withheld her son from sharing in the battle; but I have met many who ordered and commanded their children to fight for their father-land. I saw many and many brides who urged on the bridegrooms to delay their day of happiness till they would come back victorious from the battles of their father-land. Thus acted the ladies of Hungary. That country deserves to live; that country deserves to have a future left yet, which the women, as much as the men, love and cherish.

“But I have a stronger motive than all these to claim your protecting sympathy for my country’s cause. It is her nameless woe, nameless sufferings. In the name of that ocean of bloody tears which the sacrilegious hand of the tyrant wrung from the eyes of the childless mothers, of the brides who beheld the hangman’s sword between them and their wedding-day — in the name of all those mothers, wives, brides, daughters, and sisters, who, by thousands of thousands, weep over the graves of Magyars so dear to their hearts, and weep the bloody tears of a patriot, (as they all are,) over the face of their beloved native land — in the name of all those torturing stripes with which the flogging hand of Austrian tyrants dared to outrage humanity in the womankind of my native land — in the name of that daily curse against Austria with which even the prayers of our women are mixed — in the name of the nameless sufferings of my own dear wife — the faithful companion of my life — of her, who for months was hunted by my country’s tyrants, like a noble deer, not having, for months, a moment’s rest to repose her wearied head in safety, and no support. no

protection but at the humble threshold of the hard-working people, as noble and generous as they are poor — in the name of my poor little children, who so young are scarcely conscious of their life, had already to learn what an Austrian prison is — in the name of all this, and what is still worse, in the name of down-trodden liberty, I claim, ladies of New York, your protecting sympathy for my country's cause. Nobody can do more for it than you. The heart of man is as soft as wax in your tender hands. Mould it, ladies ; mould it into the form of generous compassion for my country's wrongs ; inspire it with the noble feelings of your own hearts ; inspire it with the consciousness of your country's power, dignity and might. You are the framers of man's character. Whatever be the fate of man, one stamp he always bears on his brow — that which the mother's hand impressed upon the soul of the child. The smile of your lips can make a hero out of a coward — and a generous man out of the egotist ; one word from you inspires the youth to noble resolutions ; the luster of your eyes is the fairest reward for the toils of life. You can even blow up the feeble spark of energy in the breast of broken age, that once more it may blaze up in a noble, a generous deed before it dies. All this power you have. Use it, ladies, use it in behalf of your country's glory, and for the benefit of oppressed humanity, and when you meet a cold calculator, who thinks by arithmetic when he is called to feel the wrongs of oppressed nations, convert him, ladies ! Your smiles are commands, and the truth which pours forth instinctively from your hearts, is mightier than the logic articulated by any scholar. The Peri, excluded from Paradise, brought many generous gifts to heaven in order to regain it. She brought the dying sigh of a patriot ; the kiss of a faithful girl imprinted on the lips of her bridegroom, distorted by the venom of the plague. She brought many other fair gifts ; but the doors of Paradise opened before her only when she brought with her the first prayer of a man converted to charity and brotherly love for his

oppressed brethren and humanity. I have received many tokens of this brotherly love ; and at the very moment of my entering this hall, I was informed of a circumstance which I consider so important as to beg permission to make in respect to it one single remark. I am told that one of the newspapers, with friendly and generous intention toward that cause which I have the honor to plead before you, has pointed out as the success of my standing here, that there is a committee established out of such men, whose very share in that committee gives importance to it, and who are about to raise money for the purpose of revolutionizing Europe. My axiom is that of the Irish poet, ' Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.' All that I claim is fair play ; and that is the aim for which I claim the United States to become the executive power of the laws of nature and of nature's God. That is the aim for which I claim your generous public and private aid and support. The revolutions in Europe will be made by the nations of Europe ; but that they shall have fair play is what the nations of Europe expect from the protection of the United States of America. Remember the power which you have, and which I have endeavored to point out in a few brief words. Remember this, and form associations ; establish ladies' committees to raise substantial aid for Hungary. Who could, who would, refuse, when the melody of your voice is pleading the cause of my bleeding, my much oppressed native land.

"Now, ladies, I am worn out very much, so I am done. One word only remains to be said — a word of deep sorrow, 'Farewell, New York !' New York ! that word will forever make thrill every string of my heart. I am like a wandering bird. I am worse than a wandering bird. He may return to his summer home. I have no home on earth ! Here, at New York, I felt almost at home. But 'Forward' is my call, and I must part. I part with the hope that the sympathy which I have met here is the trumpet sound of resurrection to my native land ; I part with the hope that, having

found nere a short, transitory home, will bring me yet back to my own beloved home, that my ashes may yet mix with the dust of my native soil. Ladies, remember Hungary, and — farewell ! ”

Previous to the delivery of the preceding speech, Kossuth addressed the citizens of Brooklyn, at the church of Rev. H. W. Beecher, in which he spoke of the question of religious liberty, as it is involved in the Hungarian struggle.

During his stay in New York, he was waited on by a great number of deputations from different sections of the country, and from different classes of the community, all of whom made formal addresses to him, which were answered with wonderful pertinence and tact.

On the 23d of December, he left for Philadelphia, and had a public reception the next day in the old Hall, where independence was declared in 1776. His speech was merely one of thanks. He was entertained at a public dinner in the evening, and at another on the evening of Friday, the 26th. His speech on the latter occasion, was devoted mainly to the usurpation of Louis Napoleon, which he regarded as having been dictated by the absolute powers of Europe, and as certain to end in his destruction. The struggle in Europe between the principles of freedom and despotism would only be hastened by this act, and he appealed earnestly to the United States for a decision, as to whether they would protest against Russian intervention in Hungarian affairs.

On the 27th, he went to Baltimore, where he was most enthusiastically received. In the evening he made a speech of an hour and a half to the citizens at

the hall of the Maryland Institute, in which he set forth the connection between Hungary and the rest of Europe, and the reasons why the United States could not remain indifferent to struggles for liberty in any part of the world.

On Tuesday, the 30th, he went to Washington, and was received at the cars by the Senate committee. Very soon after his arrival, he was waited upon by Mr. Webster, and a great number of other distinguished persons. He also received a deputation from the Jackson Democratic Association, and one from the clergy, making to the addresses of both pertinent replies. On Wednesday, the 31st, he was received by President Fillmore at the executive mansion. In a brief and admirable address he expressed his fervent thanks for the interest taken by the United States in his liberation from captivity and in the cause he represented, and for the action of the President himself in connection with it. He referred, with warm satisfaction, to the declaration of the President's message, that the people of this country could not remain indifferent when the strong arm of a foreign power is invoked to stifle public sentiment and to repress the spirit of freedom in any country. The President replied very briefly, saying that the policy of this country had long been settled, and that its own sentiments had been freely expressed in his Message; and his language upon those points would be the same in speaking to foreign nations as to our own. On Wednesday, the 7th of January, he was formally invited into both houses of Congress. In the evening he was present at a public dinner given to him by a large number of members of Congress,

and other distinguished persons. His speech on that occasion was a terse and most eloquent sketch of the position of his country — of its relation to the principles of liberty, and of the influence upon Europe of the history and example of the United States. To give that influence its full weight, it was necessary that the nations of Europe should be left free to manage their own concerns.

This was a great occasion to Kossuth and his cause. It was his only opportunity of making a public appeal directly to those who have the power of acting governmentally for this republic on the great question which he has proposed. A majority of the members of Congress and of the executive cabinet were present. The chair was occupied by the President of the Senate, Mr. King.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, in replying on behalf of President Fillmore, gave an authorized assurance of that high officer's "kindness and good wishes toward the guest of the nation." Judge Wayne of the Supreme Court, speaking for the Judiciary, toasted "Constitutional Liberty to all nations of the earth, supported by christian faith, and the morality of the Bible." General Shields, speaking for the army, said the occasion was not merely a compliment to Kossuth himself, but was a pledge of devotion to "the great principles he advocated of nationality and human liberty." Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, pledged our navy, that it was "not only the principal defense of liberty at home, but when needed it would strike a blow for liberty everywhere." The Hon. Chairman, announcing the next toast, said, "it was one to which every generous American would cordially respond:"

HUNGARY REPRESENTED IN THE PERSON OF OUR HONORED GUEST.—Having proved herself worthy to be free by the virtue and valor of her sons, the law of nations and the dictates of justice alike demand, that she shall have fair play in her struggle for independence.

To this toast, Kossuth responded as follows :

“SIR : As once Cyneas, the Epirote, stood among the senators of Rome, who, with an earnest word of self-conscious majesty, controlled the condition of the world and arrested mighty kings in their ambitious march, thus full of admiration and of reverence I stand before you, legislators of the new Capitol — that glorious hall of your people's collective majesty. The capitol of the old yet stands, but the spirit has departed from it and come over to yours, purified by the air of liberty. The old stands a mournful monument of the fragility of human things — yours as a sanctuary of eternal rights. The old beamed with the red luster of conquest, now darkened by oppression's gloomy night — yours beams freedom's bright ray. The old absorbed the world by its own centralized glory — yours protects your own nation against absorption even by itself. The old was awful with unrestricted power — yours is glorious with having restricted it. At the view of the old, nations trembled — at the view of yours, humanity hopes. To the old, misfortune was only introduced with fettered hands, to kneel at the triumphant conqueror's heels — to yours, the triumph of introduction is granted to unfortunate exiles, invited to the honor of a seat, and where kings and Cæsars would never be hailed, for their powers, might and wealth, there the persecuted chief of a down-trodden nation is welcomed as your great republic's guest, precisely because he is persecuted, helpless and poor. In the old, the terrible *væ victis* was the rule — in yours, protection to the oppressed, malediction to ambitious oppressors, and consolation to the vanquished in a just cause. And while out of the old a conquered world was ruled, you in yours provide for the common confederate interests of a territory larger than the conquered world of the

old. There sat men boasting their will to be the sovereigns of the world — here sit men whose glory is to acknowledge the laws of nature, and of nature's God, and to do what their sovereign, the people, wills.

“Sir, there is history in these parallels. History of past ages and history of future centuries may be often recorded in few words. The small particulars to which the passion of living men clings with fervent zeal, as if the fragile fingers of men could arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel — these particulars die away. It is the issue which makes history, and that issue is always logical. There is a necessity of consequences wherever the necessity of position exists. Principles are the alpha — they must finish with omega, and they will. Thus history may be told often in few words. Before yet the heroic struggle of Greece first engaged your country's sympathy for the fate of freedom in Europe, then so far distant, and now so near, Chateaubriand happened to be in Athens, and he heard from a minaret raised upon the propylæum's ruins, a Turkish priest in Arabic language announcing the lapse of hours to the christians of Minerva's town. What immense history in the small fact of a Turkish Imaum crying out ‘Pray, man ; the hour is running fast, and the judgment draws near.’ Sir, there is equally a history of future ages written in the honor bestowed by you to my humble self. The first governor of independent Hungary, driven from his native land by Russian violence, an exile on Turkish soil, protected by a Mohammedan sultan against the blood-thirst of christian tyrants ; cast back a prisoner to far Asia by diplomacy, and rescued from his Asiatic prison by America ; crossing the Atlantic, charged with the hopes of Europe's oppressed nations ; pleading, a poor exile before the people of this great republic, his down-trodden country's wrongs and its intimate connection with the fate of the European continent, and with the boldness of a just cause, claiming the principles of the christian religion to be raised to a law of nations ; and to see not only the boldness of the poor exile forgiven, but to see him

consoled by the sympathy of millions, encouraged by individuals, associations, meetings, cities and states, supported by operative aid, and greeted by Congress and by the government as the nation's guest, honored out of generosity with honors which only one man before him received — and that man received them out of gratitude — with such as no potentate ever can receive; and this banquet here, and the toast which I have to thank for; oh, indeed, sir, there is a history of future ages in all these facts. Sir, though I have the noble pride of my principles, and though I have the inspiration of a just cause, still I have also the consciousness of my personal humility. Never will I forget what is due from me to the sovereign source of my public capacity. This I owe to my nation's dignity, and, therefore, respectfully thanking this highly distinguished assembly, in my country's name, I have the boldness to say, that Hungary well deserves your sympathy — that Hungary has a claim to protection, because it has a claim to justice. But as to myself, permit me humbly to express that I am well aware not to have in all these honors any personal share. Nay, I know that even that which might seem to be personal in your toast, is only an acknowledgment of an historical fact, very instructively connected with a principle valuable and dear to every republican heart in the United States of America.

“Sir, you were pleased to mention in your toast that I am unconquered by misfortune, and unseduced by ambition. Now, it is a providential fact, that misfortune has the privilege to ennoble man's mind and to strengthen man's character. There is a sort of natural instinct of human dignity in the heart of man, which steels his very nerves not to bend beneath the heavy blows of a great adversity. The palm tree grows best beneath a ponderous weight — even so the character of man. There is no merit in it — it is law and psychology. The petty pangs of small daily cares have often bent the character of men, but great misfortunes seldom. There is less danger in this than in great

good luck ; and as to ambition, I, indeed, never was able to understand how any body can more love ambition than liberty.

“ But I am glad to state a historical fact as a principal demonstration of that influence which institutions exercise upon the character of nations. We Hungarians are very fond of the principle of municipal self-government, and we have a natural horror against the principle of centralization. That fond attachment to municipal self-government without which there is no provincial freedom possible, is a fundamental feature of our national character. We brought it with us from far Asia, a thousand years ago, and we conserved it throughout the vicissitudes of ten centuries. No nation has perhaps so much struggled and suffered from the civilized christian world, as we. We do not complain of this lot. It may be heavy, but it is not inglorious. Where the cradle of our Saviour stood, and where his divine doctrine was founded, there another faith now rules, and the whole of Europe’s armed pilgrimage could not avert this fate from that sacred spot, nor stop the rushing waves of Islamism absorbing the christian empire of Constantine. We stopped these rushing waves. The breast of my nation proved a breakwater to them. We guarded Christendom, that Luthers or Calvins might reform it. It was a dangerous time, and the dangers of the time often placed the confidence of all my nation into one man’s hands, and their confidence gave power into his hands to become ambitious. But there was not a single instance in history where a man honored by his people’s confidence, had deceived his people by becoming ambitious. The man out of whom Russian diplomacy succeeded in making the murderer of his nation’s confidence—he never had it, but was rather regarded always with distrust. But he gained some victories when victories were the moment’s chief necessity. At the head of the army, circumstances placed him in the capacity to ruin his country. But he never had the people’s confidence. So, even he is no contradiction to the historical truth,

that no Hungarian whom his nation honored with confidence, was ever seduced by ambition to become dangerous to his country's liberty. This is a remarkable fact, and yet it is not accidental. It is the logical consequence of the influence of institutions upon the national character. Our nation, through all its history, was educated in the school of municipal self-government, and in such a country, ambition having no field, has also no place in man's character.

"The truth of this doctrine becomes yet more illustrated by a quite contrary historical fact in France. Whatever have been the changes of government in that great country — and many they have been, to be sure; we have seen a convention, a directorate of consuls, and one consul, and an emperor, and the restoration — centralization was the fundamental tone of the institutions of France; power always centralized; omnipotence always vested somewhere; and remarkably in deed, France has never yet raised the single man to the seat of power, who has not sacrificed his country's freedom to his personal ambition. It is sorrowful, indeed, but it is natural. It is in the garden of centralization where the venomous plant of ambition thrives. I dare confidently affirm that in your great country, there exists not a single man through whose brain has ever passed the thought that he would wish to raise the seat of his ambition upon the ruins of your country's liberty. If he could, such a wish is impossible in the United States. Institutions react upon the character of nations. He who sows the wind will reap the storm. History is the revelation of Providence. The Almighty rules by eternal laws, not only the material but the moral world, and every law is a principle, and every principle a law. Men, as well as nations, are endowed with free will to choose a principle, but that once chosen, the consequences must be abided. With self-government is freedom, and with freedom is justice and patriotism. With centralization is ambition, and with ambition dwells depotism.

"Happy your great country, sir, for being so warmly

addicted to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your father raised a home to freedom more glorious than the world has ever seen. Upon this foundation you have developed it to a living wonder of the world. Happy your great country sir, that it was selected by the blessing of the Lord, to prove the glorious practicability of a federative Union of many sovereign states, all conserving their state rights and their self-government, and yet united in one. Every star beaming with its own luster, but all together one constellation on mankind's canopy. Upon this foundation your free country has grown to a prodigious power in a surprisingly brief period. You have attracted power in that. Your fundamental principles have conquered more in seventy-five years than Rome by arms in centuries. Your principles will conquer the world. By the glorious example of your freedom, welfare and security, mankind is about to become conscious of its aim. The lesson you give to humanity will not be lost, and the respect of the state rights in the federal government of America and in its several states, will become an instructive example for universal toleration, forbearance and justice, to the future states and republics of Europe. Upon this basis will be got rid of the mysterious questions of language and nationalities, raised by the cunning despotisms in Europe to murder liberty, and the smaller states will find security in the principles of federative union, while they will conserve their national freedom by the principles of sovereign self-government; and while larger states, abdicating the principle of centralization, will cease to be a blood-field to sanguinary usurpation and a tool to the ambition of wicked men, municipal institutions will insure the development of local particular elements. Freedom, formerly an abstract political theory, will become the household benefit to municipalities; and out of the welfare and contentment of all parts will flow happiness, peace and security for the whole. This is my confident hope. Then will at once subside the fluctuations of Germany's fate. It will become the heart of

Europe, not by melting north Germany into a southern frame, or the south into a northern — not by absorbing historical peculiarities by centralized omnipotence — not by mixing in one state, but by federating several sovereign states into a union like yours. Upon a similar basis, will take place the national regeneration of the Slavonian states, and not upon the sacrilegious idea of *Panslavism*, equivalent to the omnipotence of the Czar. Upon a similar basis will we see fair Italy, independent and free. Not unity but union, will and must become the watchword of national bodies, severed into desecrated limbs by provincial rivalries, out of which a flock of despots and common servitude arose.

“To be sure, it will be a noble joy to this, your great republic, to feel that the mortal influence of your glorious example has operated in producing this happy development in mankind's destiny ; and I have not the slightest doubt of the efficacy of your example's influence. But there is one thing indispensable to it, without which there is no hope for this happy issue. This indispensable thing is, that the oppressed nations of Europe become the masters of their future, free to regulate their own domestic concerns ; and to secure this, nothing is wanted but to have that fair play to all, and for all, which you, sir, in your toast, were pleased to pronounce as a right of my nation, alike sanctioned by the law of nations, as by the dictates of eternal justice. Without this fair play, there is no hope for Europe — no hope of seeing your principles spread. Yours is a happy country, gentlemen. You had more than fair play. You had active, operative aid from Europe in your struggle for independence, which once achieved, you so wisely used as to become a prodigy of freedom, and welfare, and a book of life to nations. But we, in Europe, we, unhappily, have no such fair play with us. Against every palpitation of liberty, all despots are united in a common league, and you may be sure despots will never yield to the moral influence of your great example. They hate the very existence of this

example. It is the sorrow of their thoughts and the incubus of their dreams. To stop its moral influence abroad, and to check its spreading influence at home, is what they wish, instead of yielding to its influence. We will have no fair play. The Cossack already rules, by Napoleon's usurpation, to the very borders of the Atlantic ocean.

“One of your great statesmen — now to my sorrow bound to the sick bed of far advanced age — alas, that I am deprived of the advice which his wisdom could have imparted to me — your great statesman told the world thirty years ago, that Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg. What would he now say when St. Petersburg is transferred to Paris, and Paris, and Europe is but an appendage to Russia! Alas! Europe can no more secure to Europe fair play. Albion only remains, but even Albion casts a sorrowful glance over the waves. Still we will stand firmly, sink or swim, live or die. You know the word. It is your own. We will follow it. It will be a bloody path to tread. Despots have conspired against the world. Terror spreads over Europe, and, anticipating persecution, rules from Paris to Pesth. There is a gloomy silence like the silence of nature before the terrors of a hurricane. It is a sensible silence, only disturbed by the thousand-fold rattling of the muskets by which Napoleon murders that people that gave him a home when he was an exile, and by the groans of new martyrs in Sicily, Milan, Vienna and Pesth. The very sympathy which I met in England, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters into the dungeons of Austria. Well, God's will be done. The heart may break, but duty will be done. We will stand in our place, though to us in Europe there be no fair play. But so much I hope, that no just man on earth can charge me with unbecoming arrogance, when here, on this soil of freedom, I kneel down and raise my prayer to God — ‘Almighty father of humanity, will thy merciful arm not raise a power on earth to protect the law of nations, when there are so many to violate it?’ It is a prayer, and nothing

else. What would remain to the oppressed if they were not permitted to pray? The rest is in the hand of God.

"Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honor, no encouraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you in your wisdom will be pleased to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim, and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will, and bow before it with devotion, hopeless, perhaps, but my heart full of admiration, love, and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land. But one single word, even here, I may be permitted to say, only such a word as may secure me from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded people of the United States to claim its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European continent, and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which these oppressed nations entertain. But as to your great republic, as a state, as a power on earth, I stand before the statesmen, senators, and legislators of that republic, only to ascertain from their wisdom and experience what is their judgment upon a question of national law and international right. I hoped, and now hope, that they will, by the foreboding events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time their vote about that law and those rights, and I hoped and hope that in pronouncing their vote, it will be in the broad principles of international justice, and consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life.

"That is all. I know and Europe knows the immense weight of such a pronouncement from such a place. But never had I the impious wish to try to entangle this great republic into difficulties inconsistent with its own welfare, its own security, its own interest. I rather repeatedly and earnestly declared that a war on this account by your country is utterly impossible,

and a mere phantom. I always declared that the United States remained masters of their actions, and under every circumstance will act as they judge consistent with the supreme duties to themselves. But I said, and say, that such a declaring of just principles would insure to the nations of Europe fair play in their struggle for freedom and independence, because the declaration of such a power as your republic will be respected, even where it should not be liked ; and Europe's oppressed nations will feel cheered in resolution and doubled in strength, to maintain the decision of their American brethren on their own behalf with their own lives. There is an immense power in the idea to be right, when this idea is sanctioned by a nation like yours. And when the foreboding future will become present, there is an immense field for private benevolence and sympathy upon the basis of the broad principles of international justice, pronounced in the sanctuary of your people's collective majesty. So much to guard me against misunderstanding.

"Sir, I most fervently thank you for the acknowledgment that my country has proved worthy to be free. Yes, gentlemen, I feel proud at my nation's character, heroism, love of freedom and vitality, and I bow with reverential awe before the decree of Providence which placed my country in a position that, without its restoration to independence, there is no possibility for freedom and the independence of nations on the European continent. Even what now in France is about to pass, proves the truth of this. Every disappointed hope with which Europe looked toward France is a degree more added to the importance of Hungary to the world. Upon our plains were fought the decisive battles for Christendom. There will be fought the decisive battles for the independence of nations, for state rights, for international law, and for democratic liberty. We will live free or die like men. But should my people be doomed to die, it will be the first whose death will not be recorded as suicide, but as a martyrdom for the world ; and future ages will mourn over

the sad fate of the Magyar race, doomed to perish, not because we deserve it, but because, in the nineteenth century, there was nobody to protect the law of nature and of nature's God.

"But we look to the future with confidence and with hope. Adversities, manifold, of a tempest-tossed life, could, of course, not fail to impart a mark of cheerlessness upon my heart, which, if not a source of joy, is at least a guaranty against sanguine illusions. I, for myself, would not want the hope of success for doing what is right to me. The sense of duty would suffice. Therefore, when I hope, it has nothing in common with the desperate instinct of a drowning man, who, half sunk, still grasps at a straw for help. No, when I hope, there is motive for that hope. I have a steady faith in principle. I dare say that experience taught me the logic of events, in connection with principles. I have fathomed the entire bottom of this mystery, and was, I perceive, right in my calculations there. But I supposed a principle to exist in a certain quarter, where, indeed, no principle proves to exist. It was a horrible mistake, and resulted in a horrible issue. The present condition of Europe is a very consequence of it; but precisely this condition of Europe proves, I did not wantonly suppose a principle to exist there, where I found none would have existed. The consequences could not have failed to arrive, as I have contemplated them well.

"There is a providence in every fact. Without this mistake, the principles of American republicanism would for a long time yet find a sterile soil on the continent, where it was considered wisdom to belong to the French school. Now, matters stand thus:—That either the continent of Europe has no future at all, or this future is American republicanism. And, who could believe that the three hundred millions of that continent, which is the mother of civilization, are not to have any future at all? Such a doubt would be almost blasphemy against Providence, indeed — a just, a bountiful Providence — I trust with the piety of my

religion in it; I dare say my very humble self was a continual instrument of it. How could I be else in such a condition as I was? Born not conspicuous by any prominent abilities; having nothing in me more than an iron will which nothing can bend, and the consciousness of being right; how could I, under the most arduous circumstances, have accomplished many things which my sense of honest duty prompted me to undertake? O, there is, indeed, a Providence which rules, even in my being here, when four months ago I was yet a prisoner of the league of European despots, in far Asia; and in the sympathy which your glorious people honor me with, and the high benefit of the welcome of your Congress, and the honor to be your guest—to be the guest of your great republic—I, the poor, humble, unpretending exile. Is there not a very intelligible manifestation of Providence in it?—the more when I remember that the name of your humble, but thankful guest, is by the furious rage of the Austrian tyrant, nailed to the gallows.

“Your generosity is great, and loud your protestation of republican principles against despotism. I firmly trust to those principles; and relying upon this very fact of your generosity, I may be permitted to say that respectable organ of the free press was mistaken, which announced that I considered my coming hither to be a failure. I confidently trust that the nations of Europe have a future. I am aware that that future is contradicted. Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon. I trust to the future of my native land, because I know that it is worthy to have it; and it is necessary to the destinies of humanity. I trust to the principles of republicanism, whatever be my personal fate. So much I know, that my country will remember you and your glorious land with everlasting gratitude.”

Mr. Webster, on the occasion of the delivery of the foregoing, also made a long and eloquent speech, expressing the highest appreciation of Kossuth, his country and his cause, and declaring his belief that

Hungary was admirably fitted for self-government, and his wish for the speedy establishment of its independence. He said he would not enter upon any discussion of the principles involved in this question, as it was then presented, because he had already and repeatedly expressed his views in regard to them. Referring to his speech upon the Greek revolution in 1823, and to his letter to the Austrian charge, M. Hulsemann, he said he was prepared to repeat them word for word, and to stand by every thing he had said on those occasions. Gen. Cass, also, made an eloquent speech, avowing his full and most cordial assent to the doctrine that the United States ought to interfere to prevent Russian intervention against the independence of Hungary.

On the 12th of January, 1852, Kossuth left Washington to visit the great West, on whose boundless prairies he will find the same indomitable spirit of liberty which pervades the less fortunate population that dwell upon the vast puztas of his native Hungary.

Seldom, in any country, has a champion of freedom displayed greater talents, greater consistency, greater courage and perseverance, than Kossuth. Rarely, in sinking under one of the most powerful leagues that ever was formed by tyranny, has man left such elements of resistance behind him, ready to rise up for the old cause, at the first opportunity. With their conquest the Austrians have been able to do nothing. They cannot govern Hungary, cannot pacify it. The richest province in the Austrian empire, it does not pay the expense of keeping it. So stubbornly inimical to Austria remains the population, that they have

almost wholly ceased to consume taxable articles, lest they should contribute to the revenue of their hated oppressors.

The most striking feature in Kossuth's political life is the smallness of the means employed by him, and his wonderful success. He had scarcely the use of his tongue and his pen to arouse his countrymen, for the jailer and the censor stood ready to suppress the freedom both of speech and of the press. But the oppressions of his country were heavy, and when none entertained hope but himself, he undertook the great task of re-establishing Hungarian independence, with a firm resolve never to abandon it while he had life and energy. And he will not. Possessing a faith and hope which must ever preclude despair, he will struggle on. With the highest aims and the purest motives, he is regarded, by the American people, as one of the most noble and gallant spirits of the age. Advocating the most just and enlightened views of liberty, and seemingly actuated by an entire self-sacrificing devotion to the rights and welfare of his country, he is very unlikely to abuse power for purposes of personal ambition. He is a man of unquenchable enthusiasm, of unconquerable courage, of undying patriotism — gifted with the most splendid endowments, and master of an eloquence that often wields an almost magic power over the hidden energies of the human soul. If he has his faults, he belongs to that rare order of men whose faults spring from the noblest part of their nature. It is to the very loftiness of his imagination and the very spirituality of his temperament, that they are attributable.

Kossuth appears to be essentially a religious

man. Every passage of his speeches breathes an earnest faith. The high religious and moral feeling which pervades all he says, is in a great measure the cause of his extraordinary power. He advocates political freedom on the ground that it is essential to the prevalence of pure christianity. He connects himself and his cause with the love of justice, and desire of peace, which are everywhere strengthening in the hearts of men. He insists on the inviolability of life, the sanctity of property, the liberty of conscience, and the necessity of making the moral law the foundation of all government ; and he holds despotism up to abhorrence because it deprives men of property, disregards and invades the rights of conscience, destroys life, and is at variance with every principle of morality and justice.

Kossuth fights against despotism, as he has repeated over and over again, because it is immoral ; because, as he shows by the different rate of mortality in free England and despotic Russia, it kills more human beings than any war, and has sacrificed in a year more lives than have fallen in five centuries in battling for freedom. As a religious man, he feels deeply the obligations of morality, and his policy is founded on its principles, in opposition to the tortuous and dark diplomacy of despotism. His love of father-land and humanity alike dictate a hatred of the Czar ; of the emperor of Austria ; and he never swerves from honestly and openly expressing that hatred. He inculcates the most noble principles. They are based on a respect for those sacred laws which hold society together, and which are far superior to all the laws man enacts. His

arguments are all in favor of the inviolability of life, of the protection of property, of national independence, of the necessity of order, and of the prosperity and happiness of freedom : and he has nothing in common with those who would disturb property, take away life, and throw society into anarchy, in pursuit of a political theory dignified by a holy name. The sure ground of his resistance to the Austrians was the special, continued, and flagrant wrong done to Hungary.

His attachment to peace is strong, but subordinate, as a point of duty, to his attachment to the principles of morality and the necessity of freedom, which must be defended at the expense of life itself. A spirit of nationality, too, is yet active in the world. To that Kossuth appeals, even when he enforces on all that brotherhood to which it is in some measure opposed. Connecting himself by his speeches with all the leading principles that at present pulsate in the heart of society — a feeling of religion, a love of freedom, a demand for justice, a deep respect for the principles of morality, and a desire for peace — and eloquently advocating them among different people and in different tongues, defending the common desires, and winning the hearts of the people, he confirms and strengthens the conviction of the brotherhood of nations.

Whatever may be the numerical strength of the despotisms of Europe, it seems clear that freedom is becoming, in contrast with them, infinitely powerful. It is the parent of all modern improvements, such as steam engines, railroads, and telegraphs. By observation and knowledge of nature, freedom obtains her assistance, and becomes superior in strength to slavery

in any form. To the free men of the world, the despotic states are indebted for these improvements, and they must be indebted for similar improvements hereafter, till they possess freedom themselves. But those improvements give force to industry. They are not only sources of increased wealth, they are absolutely necessary, in the progress of society, to its acquisition. Men cannot live without them. To bar out competition between individuals living in different states, is impossible; and those who possess these improvements must be victorious over those who are destitute of them. Knowledge, then, gives power; without freedom men do not gain knowledge; and thus, whatever may be the relative number of the free and the enslaved, the former must be the most powerful.

In striking for the freedom of Hungary, Kossuth has unconsciously become the herald of freedom to all the surrounding nations — of freedom which all desire to be obtained quietly, rationally, and peaceably. He has not abandoned the cause in which he has perilled all. He has not come to our shores to seek a refuge and a home with us. He comes not to settle upon the public lands tendered him in the far west, but to impress himself upon the public heart, and to wake the sympathies of this great nation for his own unhappy land. And this sympathy he desires not for the past, but for the future. The end that Kossuth hopes to accomplish by his visit to America, is to secure the moral weight of this great nation against the intervention of Russia in any future struggle between Hungary and Austria. He wishes a guaranty that the question of Hungarian independence shall be simply

an internal question, to be decided without the interference of foreign powers.

Never was a cause more worthy the sympathy of a free nation, than that of Hungary ; seldom has a man been more deserving of honor for his personal character, his misfortunes, and his public deeds, than Kossuth. That sympathy for an oppressed nation, and that honor for a patriot hero, will be accorded to them in the largest measure, by the people of the United States.

A brief description of Kossuth's personal appearance, and of his manner as an orator, may not be uninteresting. He is five feet eight inches in height, with a slight and apparently not strongly knit frame. His face is rather long, his forehead broad but not remarkably high. His eyes are quite large, and of a light blue, well set beneath a full and arched brow, and give an intellectual expression to his countenance. His hair is thin in front, and of a dark brown, as is his beard, which is quite long, and always arranged with neatness and taste. His complexion is pale, like that of a man not in perfect health, occasioned, doubtless, by his long captivity, and his unremitting labors. His countenance wears an aspect of almost melancholy earnestness, of refinement, and of gentleness, mingled with manly fire, and an air of prompt, decisive action.

His manners are remarkably winning, at once incomparably dignified and graceful. His gestures are admirable and effective. He stands quite erect, and does not bend forward, like some orators, to give emphasis to a sentence. His posture and appearance in repose is imposing, not only from their essential grace and dignity, but from the sense of power they impress

upon the beholder. This sense of unused power, this certainty that he is not making an effort and doing his utmost, but that behind all this strength of fascination, there are other treasures of strength, other stores of ability possibly never brought into use—is perhaps what constitutes the supreme charm of his oratory. He speaks as if with little preparation, and with that peculiar freshness which belongs to extemporaneous speaking; there is no effort about it, and the wonderful compactness and art of his argument are not felt until reflected upon afterward.

Generally, his English is clear and distinct, with a marked foreign accent, though at times this is not at all apparent. He speaks rather slowly than otherwise, and occasionally hesitates for words; but he chooses them with singular fitness: as he proceeds the hearer is struck with the lucid, unbroken march of the thoughts; for he thinks as closely as he speaks.

He enters upon each section of his subject with marked deliberation; but proceeds without hesitation, and lends himself to his subject with a dashing vigor, and a pace that increases as he proceeds. He is not carried away by his subject, but gives it rein, like a bold and confident horseman that knows how to trust both himself and his steed. He is full of clear ideas, and his command of words enables him to convey into the minds of others the well-defined ideas that are in his own. He has sufficient natural action, particularly when he makes an appeal to the Deity; but generally his manner is quiet, his action moderate, and a second-rate orator of our own, would expend much more breath and strength, in delivering a very common-place

harangue, than Kossuth expends in delivering a speech rich in knowledge, feeling, and illustration. He has no violence in his action ; he does not swing his arms about or toss them in the air. His voice, quite in accord with his manner, is not loud. It is soft, sweet, firm, impassioned, small rather than otherwise, and never violent. His smile is inexpressibly sweet. The little graces and by-plays of oratory—allusions to events before him and sentiments addressed to him—are tastefully brought in ; but he has none of that mimicry and mockery which pass with some persons for eloquence.

It may be that the temporary success of Austria, and the exile of Kossuth, will produce results more important and enduring, and more beneficial to the human race, than if the Hungarian war had been so equally contested that each party would have assented to a compromise, which is all that could then have been looked for by the most enthusiastic. From the patriot of a people, misfortune has converted him into the eloquent champion of freedom for an entire continent. His aims are no longer a mere protest against the wrongs that have trampled out the national life of Hungary, but a universal appeal to the free opinions of mankind against tyranny and despotism in every shape, and in every land. The power that has been given to his voice is no longer narrowed to the soil which gave him birth, but from these free shores uplifts the hearts and feeds the hopes of the oppressed of every nation. The exile of such a man has something prophetic in its purpose. Hungary has fallen, but not without a prophecy of retribution for the despots that

crushed her. She has sent forth her glorious chief as a missionary, endowed with the gift of tongues, to proclaim her wrongs in both hemispheres, and exemplify in her fate the character of that policy which makes the sovereigns of Europe the jailers, and not the rulers of mankind. We recognize even in the calamities that have overwhelmed his country, a divine significance, that seems almost to foreshadow, in his expatriation, a larger promise of political regeneration for eastern and central Europe. That Kossuth feels this to be true, is manifest from many of his speeches. "Yes, gentlemen," said he, in reply to a deputation that visited him in New York, "there is something providential in my life, without any ambition, on my part. Only think! I was a humble citizen of my native land, born in a retired place, without any important connection, without any of those means which could have promised any very large field of action; but, resolving to do as well, according to my humble abilities, as was in my power, I proceeded to adopt the cause of humanity, to try what a single humble man, with very modest faculties, under very difficult circumstances, could contribute to the development of the life, liberty and welfare of his own country and of humanity. I saw that whenever I met an obstacle—whenever the Austrian government in Hungary, absolutistical in its tendencies, raised a barrier before my activity—whenever it endeavored to crush me down—it was not my merit, but my fate—that, when I rose, I felt myself more powerful than before, and enabled to do more good than before."

In a subsequent part of the same speech he said:

“Perhaps I am reserved to fulfill some duties beneficial to humanity. That position I take. I never looked for a great field of duties, but I had and will have, however, manly resolution enough to accept every duty which Providence assigns me, great or small. I accept it from Divine Providence, and will endeavor to fulfill that duty so far as I can, with honest resolution, with a faithful heart. Now that cheer of humanity which greets me from Sweden down to the United States, that revelation of fraternal sentiment of the people of different nations, and that conviction that there is an identity in the destinies of mankind, and that those destinies can, in no corner of the world, be crushed without other parts and other members of the same great family of mankind being afflicted by it, strengthens me in my career, and leads me to believe that I have become, by providential destiny, an instrument for the manifestation of this brotherly feeling of nations.” In these remarks, as in every thing Kossuth says, a lively sense of his and of every man’s dependence on Providence, is apparent. The foundation of all his hopes seems to be a fervent faith, and it is this constant reliance on that Power which rules the thoughts and hearts of men, that enables him to say, with the inspired writer : “ Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy : when I fall I shall arise ; when I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me.”

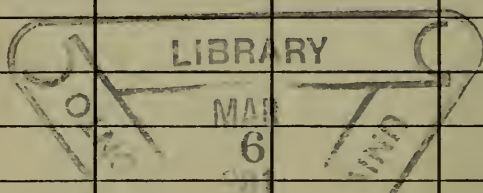






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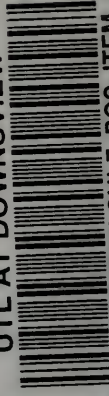
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